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THE DYNAMICS OF THE SASKATCHEWAN TEACHERS' FEDERATION

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Dynamics of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation" submitted by Clarendé Stirling McDowell in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to analyze the dynamics of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation as a formal social organization.

Using Bakke's concept of the social organization as the theoretical framework for the study, the writer selected critical issues from four major areas in which the S.T.F. has been active and analyzed the organizational behavior of the Federation in response to these four issues. The areas and issues selected were: (1) Legitimation: the type of organization that is most appropriate for teachers; (2) Salary determination: the method by which teachers' salaries should be determined; (3) Teacher education and certification: desirable requirements regarding the selection and pre-service education of persons wishing to become teachers; (4) Professional development: the role of the teachers' organization in the in-service professional development of its members.

The procedure used in the study was primarily an analysis of relevant documentary evidence supplemented by interviews with selected officers of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and other significant organizations.

The S.T.F. attained legitimacy through the establishment of the organization in 1933, the affiliation by local bodies of teachers in 1934, and the granting of statutory recognition and compulsory membership in 1935. Between 1934 and 1949 the Federation pursued and attained two salary goals: a statutory minimum salary, and collective bargaining. The field of teacher education and certification received

the attention of the Federation especially between 1943 and 1963; the three major problems encountered in this field were standards of admission, the length of the minimum programme of teacher education, and the integration of the teacher education programmes. The professional development activities of the S.T.F. began about 1950, but the scope of these activities and the resources allocated to them were expanded markedly after 1959.

It was concluded from the analysis of organizational behavior that all five of the activity bonds identified by Bakke are essential to the effective functioning of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. However, of the five, the identification bond and the homeostatic bond appear to be of paramount importance.

It was also concluded that, while Bakke's concept had been a useful and appropriate theoretical framework for the study, the concept could be profitably expanded by providing for a consideration of the conflict that may emerge between or among the systems of activities.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

I. GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The teachers' organizations in Western Canada are unique. It was first in Saskatchewan (and later in Alberta, Manitoba and British Columbia) that the legislature created a professional organization to which all teachers must belong as a condition of their employment in state supported schools. As a result, teachers became organized in a manner and to an extent unparalleled elsewhere in the English-speaking world.

If it is one's intention to describe and analyze an organization, he appears to be faced with these alternatives: (1) to use his own notions, based on his own experience, of how to proceed; or (2) to select one or more models, that have been developed by organization theorists, to guide his investigation. The anti-theoretical bias that bedevils many educators would lead them to select the first alternative. The view presented by Argyris, however, is perhaps the most eloquent defence of the second:

It can be said . . . that common-sense proponents are actually using a theoretical framework with which to understand the world. It is their own personal, private, prejudiced framework created to keep themselves in a relatively happy state with their environment. The difference between a common-sense theoretical framework and a scientific theoretical framework is that the latter attempts to be public, not private; it is systematic, not random; it does not permit prejudices to enter; and finally, it is continuously tested not by one case but by many (1:19).

It is clear, then, that a systematic study of a social organization

requires more than a random collection of data. To be fruitful, such a study should be guided by a theoretical base. The present study was an attempt to use a framework of organization theory in analyzing the dynamics of a specific formal social organization, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation.

II. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Organization theory is characterized by a variety of approaches and emphases, depending upon the particular theorist's background and centre of interest. In a recent review of the field, Scott has outlined three theories of organization that are having considerable influence; he has labeled them the classical, the neoclassical and the modern (9). The classical doctrine deals almost exclusively with the anatomy of formal organization: the division of labor, the scalar and functional processes, the structure, and the span of control. The neoclassical theory of organization, commonly identified with the human relations movement, accepts the classical doctrine but adds to it the modifications necessary for a recognition of the presence and effect of informal organizations. Modern organization theory has three distinctive qualities: a conceptual-analytical base, a reliance on empirical research data, and an integrating nature. Its basic philosophy is that the only meaningful way to study organization is to study it as a system of mutually dependent variables. Scott looks to modern organization theory, with its emphasis on systems analysis and viewing the organization in its totality, as a promising basis for future work in the field.

Some Models for Organizational Analysis

There is no dearth of theoretical models that would assist in the analysis of an organization. One of the earliest to be devised was the bureaucratic ideal type formulated by Weber (11). Weber's analysis has been criticized, however, on the basis that his one-sided concern with the functions of bureaucratic institutions has made him oblivious to the possible dysfunctions of each element in the system. Merton, in an attempt to overcome some of these limitations, has developed a model intended to identify both the dysfunctions and the functions operating within the system (8). Etzioni's comparative approach to the analysis of complex organizations (4) might be useful in the study of teachers' organizations, especially if more preparatory work had been done in terms of basic studies of several of them. Unfortunately, such parallel studies have not been undertaken.

Another model that might be useful has been presented by Whyte (12). Whyte begins with the assumption that the impact of a given force depends in part upon the context within which it operates; thus, he presents a scheme of analysis in which forces and contexts are integrated--a systems approach to organization. He summarizes his concept in this way:

My system involves the interactions, activities and sentiments of the members in relation to the social, economic, and technological environment. I assume a state of mutual dependence among the elements of the social system, which means that a change introduced into interactions will be accompanied by change in activities and sentiments; a change introduced into activities will be accompanied by changes in interactions and sentiments, and so on (12:569).

It is immediately apparent that Whyte's model is an illustration of modern organization theory, previously discussed. As such, it varies considerably from, for example, Weber's bureaucratic model.

Gouldner has suggested that a major task confronting organizational analysis is the reconciliation of what he calls the rational and the natural-system models:

What is needed is a single and synthesized model which will at once aid in analyzing the distinctive characteristics of the modern organization as a rational bureaucracy, the characteristics which it shares with other kinds of social systems, and the relationship of these characteristics to one another (5:426).

In the absence of such a "single and synthesized model" the writer decided to select one of the numerous models available and to use it in the analysis of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. In addition to the models previously mentioned, some attention was given to the proposals outlined by Selznick (10), by Lawrence (7), and by Haire (6). It was decided, however, that the most suitable model for the purpose of the present study was the one proposed by Bakke (3).

Bakke's model was selected because it exemplified the integrated and comprehensive approach of the modern organization theorist, and because it appeared to provide the best guide for an initial descriptive study of a social organization. In addition, Bakke's model appeared to be especially useful in a study that would employ documentary analysis, and much of the data for the present study had of necessity to be obtained from documents.

Bakke's Bonds of Organization

A clear definition of the nature and structure of a social

organization must meet three broad criteria: consistency with reality, comprehensiveness and applicability, and provision for the charting of interactions and interdependence among the parts. Bakke offers the following general definition:

A social organization is a continuing system of differentiated and coordinated human activities utilizing, transforming, and welding together a specific set of human, material, capital, ideational, and natural resources into a unique, problem-solving whole engaged in satisfying particular human needs in interaction with other systems of human activities and resources in its environment (3:37).

From this general definition, Bakke derives the following major features which are essential to a more specific definition of a particular social organization:

1. The Organizational Charter or the image of the organization's unique wholeness.
2. The Basic Resources, human, material, capital, ideational, and natural, utilized in organizational activities.
3. The Activity Processes essential to the acquisition, maintenance, and utilization of these basic resources for the performance of the organization's function.
4. The Bonds of Organization integrating into operating systems (a) each of the activity processes, (b) the objective provided for it by the organizational charter, and (c) the contributions to its operation of elements of the basic resources and the other essential processes. Each system or bond functions to develop and actualize the image of the organization's unique wholeness and to relate the organization and its parts to the external environment (3:37).

Each of these major features will now be examined in greater detail.

The organizational charter. Included in this major feature will be at least the following identifying characteristics of the organization: its name; its functions; its goals; its policies; its

value premises; its symbols; the reciprocal rights and obligations between the organization and its participants, and among the organization, other organizations and people in the environment; and the significance of the organization for the self-realization of people and organizations both within and outside the organization. The organization as a whole must mean something definite, must call to mind unique, identifying features. This image is the organizational charter.

The basic resources. There are five classes of basic resources: people, materials, capital, nature, and ideas. The nature of these resources, both actual and potential, is an important determinant of the structure of the organization, for the basic resources determine the extent to which the organizational charter can be actualized.

The activity processes. There are five necessary classes of activity systems, or essential processes, which characterize all specific-purpose organizations. An adequate elaboration of most of these classes requires that they be divided into sub-classes.

1. Identification activities - are concerned with developing, legitimizing, and symbolizing the organizational charter.
2. Perpetuation activities - are concerned with acquiring, maintaining, transforming, renewing and developing the basic resources. Sub-classes of these activities (defined by the basic resources and by the specific function which the sub-class of activities perpetuates) include:
 - (a) Personnel activities - perpetuate people and their qualities

- (b) Service activities - perpetuate materials, equipment and plant
- (c) Finance activities - perpetuate capital
- (d) Conservation activities - perpetuate natural resources, and access to them, and adapt them to the requirements of the other activities
- (e) Thoughtways activities - perpetuate ideas

3. Work-flow activities - are concerned with producing and distributing the output. Sub-classes (defined by the stages they represent in the work-flow) include:

- (a) Production activities - create or make the service or product
- (b) Distribution activities - distribute the service or product to consumers, often in exchange for what the organization can employ as an input

4. Control activities - are concerned with directing, coordinating, stimulating, regulating and appraising all operations.

Sub-classes (defined by the functions they perform) include:

- (a) Directive activities - initiate the action, and the type and direction of the action, for people and machines
- (b) Motivation activities - reward or penalize
- (c) Evaluation activities - supervise; review and assess performance; compare alternate courses of action; and predict probable consequences of alternatives
- (d) Communication activities - supply participants with premises and data they need to perform other activities

5. Homeostatic activities - add no new elementary activities to the

concept, but combine the other activities in a cooperative system to preserve the integrity of the organization in an evolving state of dynamic equilibrium. At least three of these synergic processes function in a social organization to act as built-in stimulators and regulators:

- (a) The fusion process. the function of this process is to maintain the integrity of the organization in the face of divergent interests of individuals, groups, other organizations, and the organization itself, interests which each hopes to realize through its contact with the other.
- (b) The problem-solving process. The function of this process is to deal with the problems that continually face the organization, whether they be negative (creating difficulty in achieving the desired results) or positive (affording opportunities for activities that will bring advantageous results).
- (c) The leadership process. The function of this process is to provide vision, initiative, encouragement and guidance with respect to the preservation of the unique and dynamic wholeness of the organization.

A social organization may exhibit ineffectiveness or inefficiency in carrying out certain of the foregoing activity processes.¹ Symptoms of such ineffectiveness or inefficiency are listed in Appendix B.

¹Bakke defines the effectiveness of a system or bond as the "degree of positive contribution to the operations and objectives of the organization as a whole, and to the strength of the other bonds"; and the efficiency of a system or bond as the "degree of positive contribution to the goal realization of the participants in the organization" (2:235).

The bonds of organization. As was the case with the homeostatic activities, the bonds of organization add no new elementary parts to the definition. Rather, they integrate the three major features (the organizational charter, the basic resources, and the activity processes) into operating systems and indicate the nature of the interdependence among all three. Thus, one may begin with a single activity associated with one of the essential processes, and indicate the contribution made to the carrying on of this activity by all the other elements. A description of the bond might therefore be organized around the following key elements:

1. The activity
2. The function or objective of this activity (or, the contributory relationship of this activity to the function of the organization as described in the organizational charter)
3. The instruments utilized in the activity (specific items of the basic resources)
4. The helper processes (which contribute activities essential to the carrying out of the activity involved)
5. Reinforcements (which tend to stabilize and justify the activity usually by means of ritual or sentiments associated with satisfactory relations in connection with, and performance of, the particular activity).

Adaptability of the concept. Bakke's outline for defining the nature and structure of a social organization is detailed and complex. However, Bakke presents this pointed justification of his approach:

In defining an adequate and usable concept of the social organization, I am not nearly so impressed by the impracticality involved in magnitude and complexity as by that inherent in oversimplification (3:73).

Furthermore, it is the comprehensiveness of the definition that ensures its adaptability. Bakke has previously pointed out that some of the bonds and elements may be more appropriate and significant than others in the analysis of a given organization (2:189). Thus, an investigator may use his judgment in selecting or emphasizing the bonds or elements that suit his purpose, while still retaining the entire definition as his general framework and guide.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM

I. PLAN OF THE STUDY

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of the study was to analyze the dynamics of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation as a formal social organization.

Questions To Be Answered

The problem was stated in the form of questions. The basic question stated the central problem with which the study was concerned: the dynamics of a specific organization.

The writer decided that the basic question could best be answered by studying the behavior of the organization as it attempted to cope with certain critical issues with which it had been faced. A preliminary investigation indicated that four major areas constituted a representative cross-section of the stated aims¹ and the organizational behavior of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. These were legitimation; salary determination; teacher education and certification; and professional development. The following critical issues were then selected from these areas:

- (1) the type of organization that is most appropriate for teachers;
- (2) the method by which teachers' salaries should be determined;

¹See Appendix A.

- (3) desirable features in the selection and the pre-service education of persons wishing to become teachers;
- (4) the role of the teachers' organization in the in-service professional development of its members.

The supplementary questions were focused upon the organizational behavior of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in response to these critical issues. An analysis of this behavior, as guided by the supplementary questions, was conducted to identify and illustrate the major bonds of organization in the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation.

Basic question. What are the major bonds of organization in the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation?

Supplementary questions. With respect to each of the critical issues listed above:

- (1) what has been the nature of the issue?
- (2) what has been the organizational behavior of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in response to the issue?
- (3) (a) which of the activity processes have been the major ones involved in this behavior?
(b) have there been conflicts between or among any of these activity processes?
(c) what symptoms of ineffectiveness or inefficiency appeared in the carrying out of these activity processes?
- (4) how and to what extent has the behavior of the organization affected the organizational charter?

- (5) (a) which of the basic resources have been most significant in the organization's behavior?
- (b) how and to what extent has each of these significant basic resources either facilitated or limited the behavior of the organization?
- (6) what bonds of organization appear to have developed either during or as a result of the organization's behavior?
- (7) what similarities and differences are there between the organization's behavior with respect to this issue and its behavior with respect to the other three issues?

Research Procedure

The procedure used in the study was primarily an analysis of relevant documentary evidence, supplemented by interviews with selected officers of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and other significant organizations. Blau and Scott have stressed the usefulness of documentary analysis as a method in the study of organizations:

A particular advantage enjoyed by the student of formal organizations is precisely the existence of such documents . . . ; to overlook their significance as an inexpensive, valuable source of data on the policies of the organization and the conduct of its members is to fail to exploit the "natural resources" in this research field (3:18).

One chapter of the study has been devoted to each of the critical issues previously listed. Each such chapter includes (1) a description of the issue and of the events and activities that took place in connection with it; and (2) an analysis of the organizational behavior of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in accordance with

Bakke's definition. A final chapter has been devoted to conclusions about the major bonds of organization in the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation as seen in the analyses of the four issues.

Bakke's concept of the social organization was used to guide the selection of data for the analysis of organizational behavior. Thus, the writer searched not only for data descriptive of the critical issue being studied, but also for data that would identify the resources and activities that, according to Bakke's model, would probably be significant elements in the organization's behavior.

Sources of Data

The following sources were utilized for gathering evidence regarding the actions of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation with respect to each of the issues under study:

1. For documentary evidence:

(a) Records of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation

(i) minutes of annual Council meetings, including annual reports of the officers

(ii) minutes of Executive meetings

(iii) reports of advisory committees

(iv) correspondence and other files

(v) The Saskatchewan Bulletin, volumes I-XXX (1934-65)

(vi) handbooks, policy statements, and other publications

(b) Records of the Saskatchewan Department of Education

(i) annual reports

(ii) legislation and regulations

(iii) reports of special committees

(c) Records of the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association

(i) The School Trustee, volumes I-XVIII; I-XVI (1931-49; 1950-65)

(ii) convention handbooks

(d) Selected volumes and issues of Saskatchewan daily newspapers

(e) Miscellaneous reports, books and articles dealing with the development of Saskatchewan and the provincial school system.

2. For interviews:

(a) A selection of past and present officers of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation; persons selected were determined on the basis of (1) the kind of evidence required to supplement apparent inadequacy, bias or ambiguity in documentary evidence, and (2) their availability

(b) A selection of past and present officials of the Saskatchewan Department of Education and the provincial government, selected on the same bases as in (a) above.

Definition of Terms

Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. Throughout the study the name "Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation" (used interchangeably with "S.T.F." and "the Federation") has been used to refer to the professional organization of Saskatchewan teachers defined in and legally established by An Act Respecting the Teaching Profession, Revised Saskatchewan Statutes, 1953, Chapter 183.

Bakke's concept of the social organization. Being the theo-

retical framework for the present study, the "concept of the social organization" and the names of the constituent elements of the concept have been used in the sense in which they were previously defined in this study and in the publications by Bakke which were cited.²

II. RELATED STUDIES

Unpublished Theses

With the possible exception of the Alberta Teachers' Association, teachers' organizations in Canada have received scant attention from students pursuing master's and doctoral studies. There is recorded in the literature a total of twelve theses, completed or underway, which deal with the development, the role or the activities of Canadian teachers' organizations. Nearly one-half of these have been begun since 1960.

Five of the theses are studies of the Alberta Teachers' Association. In 1949 MacNab prepared a history of the Alberta Teachers' Association, dealing with its founding and growth, its struggles for recognition, its professional activities, and its relations with other educational organizations (14). In 1956 Bailey studied the influence of the Alberta Teachers' Association on educational legislation (1). His documentary study included four major areas of investigation: legal establishment of the profession; the struggle for security of tenure; building the retirement fund; and securing adequate remuneration. In 1963 Kratzmann conducted a documentary analysis of the

²See pp. 4-10 of this study, and Bakke (2).

dynamics of the Alberta Teachers' Association. His study was designed to analyze the activities of the Association as a formal, social, and professional organization. The model for this analysis was derived from "a fusion of methods employed in describing the characteristics of professions and the professional interest on the one hand, and the typology and dynamics of formal social organizations on the other" (12:1). Also in 1963, Odynak completed a study of the Alberta Teachers' Association as an interest group (17). Descriptive analysis was used to test a number of hypotheses that were derived from the theory of organization. Documentary evidence was used to show the operations of the Association with respect to four issues: The Teaching Profession Act; collective bargaining; the Blackstock Commission; and the Foundation Program Plan. At the present time a study is being conducted by Ingram to determine the extent of membership involvement in the Alberta Teachers' Association (11).

Three theses deal with the Canadian scene. Two studies by Buck trace the development and attempt to assess the contributions of teachers' organizations in Canada (4,5). As one might expect, the breadth of scope in both these studies prevents Buck from treating any one organization in depth. A study by Nason focuses upon the historical development of the Canadian Teachers' Federation (16).

Studies of the teachers' organizations in four other provinces have been carried out. In 1930 Campbell completed a study of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (7). In 1939 Hardy studied the part played by teachers' organizations in the development of Ontario education during the preceding century, with particular attention to

their influence on the teacher and on teaching (10). In 1958 a history of the Manitoba Teachers' Society was prepared by Vidal (20). And in 1960 Watson, in a study of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union, developed his definition of the "marginal professions." This category, including teachers, nurses, librarians, and "various scientifically trained personnel employed by industry and government," was so designated because, despite the desires and demands of the members, the marginal professions are denied a high status by the community (21:297).

In addition to the twelve previously cited, there are three theses which make oblique or incidental reference to teachers' organizations. In 1949 Loewen's study of the status of the teaching profession in Canada included a brief sketch of the Canadian teachers' organizations and attempted to obtain Alberta school superintendents' opinions about the attitude of Alberta teachers toward their professional organization (13). A study presently being conducted by Burwell, entitled "The Ontario Elementary Teacher, 1910-1960," includes "the growth of professional organizations" as one of the major factors to be considered (6). The third thesis in this category is a study by McCurdy on the legal status of the Canadian teacher (15). In this study it is hypothesized that quasi-judicial bodies such as boards of reference, discipline or professional committees of teachers' organizations, and, in addition, "the growing power of the teacher organizations themselves" are increasingly shaping and influencing the legal status of the teacher.

Published Materials

Published works dealing with Canadian teachers' organizations are rare. In his 626-page history of the development of Canadian education, Phillips dispenses with teachers' organizations in a half-dozen pages (19:556-58;592-94). Perhaps the best scholarly treatment of the role of teachers' organizations in Canada is found in the Quance Lectures delivered by Paton in 1962 (18). In addition, of course, each of the provincial teachers' organizations has, in either its magazine or its handbooks, provided at least some record of its growth and development.

Recommendations

Authors of theses based on the activities and the development of teachers' organizations appear to have found the general area a fruitful one for study. Most of them recommend that further studies be undertaken. Bailey advances the following suggestions for further investigation:

1. The conclusions concerning the influence and effectiveness of the A.T.A. lead the writer to conjecture as to whether these are general procedures used by teachers' associations. A study of other teachers' organizations might lead to some generalizations concerning the procedure which such groups have used to achieve their desired legislation.
2. From these studies it might be possible to establish criteria which could be used to determine the possible effectiveness of a proposed program of action in which a teachers' association might become involved (1:175-76).

Kratzmann notes that "the Canadian teachers' association differs from most such organizations in that its membership expectations are mandatory, and through the nature of its arbitrary internal controls over

its members" (12:310). He then raises a series of questions about teachers' associations that might form the basis for further research. Odynak recommends a study of other interest groups and a comparison of the Alberta Teachers' Association with other teachers' organizations (17:232-33). At the conclusion of his dissertation on the legal status of the Canadian school board, Enns lists a number of studies that might grow out of his investigation: "Among these would be studies to trace legislation dealing with specific aspects of school statutes such as the development of . . . teachers' contracts and the growth of teacher organizations . . ." (8:198).

III. ASSUMPTIONS

It was first of all assumed that Bakke's concept of the social organization was an appropriate theoretical framework for the analysis of the specific organization to be studied. Although Bakke believes that his concept meets the criterion of comprehensiveness, and "should be useful as a framework for the study of organizational behavior within, and in relation to, all types of specific-purpose social organizations" (2:34), the writer was unable to find a study in which the concept had been exclusively used in the description of a teachers' organization.

A further assumption underlying the study was that an accurate and adequate analysis of the dynamics of a formal social organization could be obtained with the method to be employed--analysis of documentary evidence of organizational behavior with respect to a limited number of critical issues.

IV. DELIMITATIONS

The study did not attempt the monumental task of studying the organizational behavior of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation with respect to all issues. Rather, it was delimited to an analysis of organizational behavior with respect to critical issues selected from four areas that appeared to be representative of the Federation's activities.

The study was further delimited to a consideration of those aspects of organizational behavior that could be demonstrated with documentary evidence. Thus, certain aspects (such as attitudes of members of the Federation or the internal power structure of the Executive), the study of which would be better facilitated by other research methods, were dealt with only in incidental fashion, if at all.

V. LIMITATIONS

The major limitations of the study were those imposed by the nature of the sources of the data. First, documents and interviews may be subject to a degree of misinterpretation or error, unintentional or deliberate, on the part of either the writer (or speaker) or the reader (or listener). While meticulous care may minimize this source of error, it can never be fully avoided and must always be recognized in a study of this kind. Second, one must note that methods used in this study are hampered by the perishable nature of documentary evidence and by the imperfection and inadequacy of human memory, especially when the evidence to be adduced or the events to be recalled are distant in time.

VI. SIGNIFICANCE AND POSSIBLE OUTCOMES OF THE STUDY

First of all, it was anticipated that the study could make a worthwhile contribution to educational administration, specifically in the area of organization theory. As is the case in using any theoretical concept, there is a certain reciprocity in the application of Bakke's concept to a specific formal organization: the concept can guide the analysis, and the analysis may contribute to the revision or clarification of the concept. (Indeed, Bakke emphasizes that his concept in its present form is the result of its having been used in the analysis of nearly a dozen complex organizations.) Furthermore, it was expected that the present study could provide the necessary basis or background for depth studies of particular aspects of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. Such studies might deal with the decision-making process, the internal power structure, or the involvement or attitudes of members; or they might, by using the approach outlined by Etzioni (9), compare the Federation with similar organizations (such as the Alberta Teachers' Association) on which similar basic studies had been completed.

In the second place, it seemed probable that the present study could be useful for educational practitioners. Blau and Scott state:

. . . the study of organizations has much practical significance today, particularly in a democratic society An efficient administrative machinery vests tremendous power in the hands of the few--be they corporation managers, government officials, military officers, party bosses, or union leaders--and thereby undermines the sovereignty of the many to whom the few in a democracy are expected to be responsible. Acquiring knowledge about bureaucratic organizations is an important first step in meeting the threat they pose for democratic institutions (3:15).

An exhortation to members of a complex organization that they should become knowledgeable about it is timely and meaningful only if information and studies are available to assist them in such a quest. It was hoped that this study might provide at least one medium whereby the members of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation could become better acquainted with their professional organization and thereby more able to contribute effectively to its operation. The writer believed that other persons employed in education in Saskatchewan might also find the study useful, for the S.T.F. has become one of the situational factors to be considered in every educational decision in the province. Finally, it was thought that a study of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation might be of value to educators elsewhere. The kind of teachers' organization that has emerged in Western Canada could become the prototype to be emulated in those places where factionalism and dissension among teachers now exist.³

³For example, the split in the ranks of American teachers, with loyalties divided between the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, saps the strength that could be realized in a united organization. A recent series of articles seems to suggest, however, that the division will not soon be overcome (22).

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CHAPTER III

LEGITIMATION

I. THE ISSUE

Introduction

Narrowly defined, legitimation is the act or process of giving legal status or authorization to a person or to an organization. It is possible, however, to interpret the term more broadly. Every social group tends to develop cultural preferences for ways that seem to it to be right; it develops a value system. If an entire group finds itself faced with the same circumstances, and if its members share similar beliefs as to what is good and right, a common value orientation emerges. This value orientation will define the exercise of specified social controls as being legitimate. In Schermerhorn's words, "Legitimate power is that type which is exercised as a function of values and norms acceptable in the society" (49:36).

It took Saskatchewan teachers almost thirty years to develop a type of organization that would win general acceptance within their group. The issue included two main facets: whether only professional educators should be eligible for membership, and whether membership should be compulsory.

The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation attained legitimacy as a result of three decisions. The first was the decision of a meeting of representative teachers in December, 1933 to establish the organization and the structure of the S.T.F. The second was the decision by local

bodies of teachers, at their fall conventions in 1934, to become a part of the new organization. The third was the decision by the legislature, in February, 1935, to grant the Federation statutory recognition and compulsory membership. An understanding of the nature of and the reasons for these decisions requires a knowledge of events and activities that took place during the preceding years.

Early Educational Organizations

The Saskatchewan Education Association. Saskatchewan became a province in 1905. Two years later the Saskatchewan Education Association came into existence. Its membership included not only public school teachers but also normal school instructors, university professors, Department of Education personnel, and a variety of interested citizens. Its main activity was the annual conference which was devoted primarily to addresses and discussions about the schools in particular and education in general.

In most respects, the Saskatchewan Education Association appears to have been not unlike its counterparts in the other provinces. Paton is led to the following conclusion about the organizations to which teachers belonged prior to the First World War:

. . . it is reasonably accurate to say that Canadian teachers were content to look for organizational leadership to departmental officials, to the heads of universities, and even in some instances to prominent citizens like supreme court justices and bishops of the church. It was from these people that the presidents and most of the officers of the provincial education associations came, not from teachers and school principals. The latter were, with regrettably few exceptions, content with the lowly lot to which it had apparently pleased God to call them. They deferred to their betters in education; and, while it would be wrong to imply that these provincial

meetings never discussed salaries and pensions and low status, effective action was seldom taken (21:6).

However, if prior to the First World War teachers were content to look to others for leadership and organization, they were no longer so disposed by the time the war was over. A social upheaval had occurred. Inflation was presenting teachers with new economic burdens. The supply of teachers was inadequate and had to be supplemented by recruits from Great Britain and elsewhere (19:223). Teachers became impatient with the failure of others to solve educational problems and began searching for ways to make their views known. It is notable that most of the provincial teachers' associations in Canada were formed within a short period at the end of World War I (22:557).

The Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance. The first Saskatchewan organization that was by, of, and for teachers had its beginnings in Regina in 1914.¹ In July of that year Premier Walter Scott, concerned about the shortage of teachers and criticisms being leveled at the schools, invited the teachers who were marking departmental examinations to provide him with recommendations for the improvement of the educational system. Various groups of the sub-examiners prepared suggestions. Some of the teachers who were marking grade eight examination papers submitted proposals to establish a more permanent and efficient body of

¹Unfortunately the records of the early years of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance were lost about 1922. What follows draws primarily upon an account written by M. J. Coldwell (8), who was secretary of the Saskatchewan Union of Teachers in 1914-15, president of the Alliance in 1926-27, and successively vice-president, president, and secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Teachers' Federation between 1925 and 1934.

teachers by providing security of tenure, more adequate salaries, and superannuation. However, the central committee considered these proposals to lie outside the scope of the report, and they were omitted. Greatly disappointed, the group that had originated the proposals called a meeting which resulted in the formation of the Saskatchewan Union of Teachers. It was to be modeled upon the National Union of Teachers of England and Wales and was to advocate reforms in tenure, salaries and superannuation. During the following four years efforts were made to interest teachers in this new kind of professional organization.² Letters were written to officers of the inspectorate conventions; but few replied. Letters were written to the editors of the daily newspapers (28); some teacher groups began discussing the possibilities of the new idea. Attempts were made to secure a place on the programme of the S.E.A. Easter Conventions, but without success. Resistance on the part of some teachers to the name of the organization led to its being changed to the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance. By the spring of 1919 post-war conditions had further aggravated the salary situation. At the S.E.A. convention that year, a special meeting was called. The teachers of the cities of Regina, Saskatoon and Moose Jaw agreed to affiliate as locals of the Alliance, and a new constitution was suggested with the object of uniting the teachers of the province in one strong organization. By the time of the Easter Meeting in 1921 the secretary of the Alliance was able to report that fifty-two locals had

²An indication of the slow growth of the organization is that it had "one hundred members in 1917" (9:9).

fully affiliated with a membership of over 1,400 (41:1).

During their strike in 1921, the teachers in Moose Jaw were supported by the Alliance. Perhaps more than any other single action, this support made the public, and the teachers themselves, aware of the existence and the possible effectiveness of the provincial teachers' organization. Most significant of the terms of settlement of the strike were: "(1) Recognition of the Alliance by the Board. (2) Acknowledged right of the teachers to confer and negotiate with the Board through properly accredited representatives . . ." (41:6).

In the 1920's the Alliance grew and prospered, especially during the latter half of the decade.³ By 1926 the Alliance was seeking security of tenure, a superannuation plan, and a board of arbitration--aims substantially the same as those that had led to the formation of the Saskatchewan Union of Teachers more than ten years earlier. This lack of progress caused much soul searching. In the first issue of the Alliance's new magazine, a teacher-member wrote:

At the present time membership of the general and secondary sections has reached approximately twelve hundred /according to the secretary's figures it was only 1,021/ while the total number of teachers actually engaged in the province is approximately five thousand five hundred. The question eternally arises, "what is the matter?" A general answer may be ventured that the efforts of the Alliance have not vitally enough touched the life of the rank and file of the teaching body. That is to say, these efforts have not been such as to appeal to the teacher in a personal way as regards his welfare as a teacher (11:11-12).

Apart from trying to attain its stated objectives the Alliance was

³The best single source for a description of this period is Buck (3:56-62), to whose work the present writer is indebted for much of the following account.

faced with the mammoth problem of obtaining and retaining members. In 1927 the secretary reported to the Canadian Teachers' Federation that " . . . thirty per cent. more teachers left the profession in this province than in any one previous year" (7:41). And in 1929 the general secretary reported to his readers that "it takes almost all the time of one clerk to carry on the necessary correspondence and file work, due to the constant change of addresses within the organization" (10:27). In an effort to solve its membership problem the Alliance appointed an organizing secretary in 1927, and made him a full-time general secretary in the spring of 1928. The result of his efforts can be seen in the changes in the numbers of members toward the end of the decade, as shown in Table I.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN THE SASKATCHEWAN
TEACHERS' ALLIANCE, SELECTED YEARS

Year	Number of Members
1921	1,400 to 1,600 (reports differ)
1925	822
1926	1,021
1927	850
1928	1,790
1929	2,144
1930	2,463
1931	2,057

During its years of greatest membership the Alliance also made its greatest progress toward its goals. Having advocated a superannuation scheme since its inception, the Alliance proceeded during the 1929 provincial election to send a questionnaire to every candidate, with the result that several from each party gave public or written assurance of their support. The Teachers' Superannuation Act was passed in 1930. Other gains were the establishment of a board of reference with advisory powers, and the provision that a teacher could be dismissed without stated cause on only two dates each year--June 30th and December 31st.

Despite a period of considerable success between 1927 and 1931, the Alliance was unable to withstand the effects of the economic depression. By the spring of 1933 it had fewer than eight hundred members; no provincial convention was called; the Saskatchewan Teacher suspended publication greatly in debt; and the general secretary was forced to resign (3:62).

The Saskatchewan Rural Teachers' Association. There is little doubt that the economic depression of the early 1930's was even more devastating in its effects upon the rural teacher than it was upon his urban colleagues. Because the Alliance was unable to prevent sizable salary reductions, and because many rural teachers felt that the Alliance was controlled mainly by city teachers, a movement was begun in the fall of 1932 by a group of teachers in and around Melville to establish a new teachers' organization: the Saskatchewan Rural Teachers' Association.

The first newsletter of the organization was a mimeographed sheet dated October 3, 1932. In it the provisional executive committee outlined the reasons for the inception of an organization especially for the rural teacher:

Insecurity of tenure, chaotic conditions of employment, not being paid reasonable salaries and in many cases not receiving these, overcrowding of the profession and the injustice of the Superannuation Act, are but some of the things that require concerted attention and action by the rural teachers. The work of the teacher in the one-roomed schools is often very heavy with enrolment up to fifty and over and with eight to ten grades When the government grant was reduced by one-third, some school districts simply reduced the teacher's salary by the full amount of the reduction in grant . . . (30:1).

The appeal to join the Rural Teachers' Association was directed primarily towards the more than six thousand teachers who at the time belonged to no professional organization whatsoever. The objectives of the R.T.A. were clear-cut: larger units of administration; statutory minimum salary on a schedule basis; security of tenure; statutory membership for all teachers in their professional organization; revision of the Superannuation Act; and professional class-room service to teachers (30:1). Although the idea had undoubtedly been discussed by groups of teachers, this appears to be the first instance of statutory membership having become a stated aim of a Saskatchewan teachers' organization.⁴

If statutory membership was one of the most significant ideas

⁴Even by May, 1933 the six-point platform of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance made no reference to statutory or compulsory membership (38:2), although Alliance representatives had proposed the idea to the government in December, 1932, three months after the R.T.A. was formed (48:3).

contributed by the Rural Teachers' Association, its proposed form of organization was no doubt another. The centre of power in the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance had been the officers and executive committee elected at the annual meeting. All teacher-members were entitled to attend this meeting, but relatively few rural teachers were able to do so. That control would rest primarily in the hands of city teachers was the inevitable result.⁵ The Rural Teachers' Association proposed to solve this problem by a process of decentralization. The inspectorate convention, rather than the provincial meeting, was to become "the convention of first importance" because "relatively few rural teachers do or can attend the provincial convention but all attend the inspectorate conventions" (32:1). Policy decisions would be the responsibility of the Provincial Council, which would consist of one member elected by each inspectorate convention. Details of the plan of organization are shown in Figure 1 (33:2).

Summary. For a decade after the province was formed the only medium that provided Saskatchewan teachers with an opportunity to associate with their colleagues was the somewhat amorphous annual

⁵This basic criticism of the Alliance was recognized by the Alliance itself. For example, Lorne F. Titus, a Saskatoon teacher and Alliance member who became the first secretary of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, says, "The early teachers' organizations did not build strength at the local level. For this reason most of the energy of the executive was dissipated in a constant struggle to obtain membership and at least modest financial support" (52). A Regina teacher and Alliance member, who became vice-president of the first S.T.F. Executive, Gail Stewart, says, "The Alliance was dead. It had been an organization of city teachers. It was essential that the rural teachers be part of any effective organization" (50).

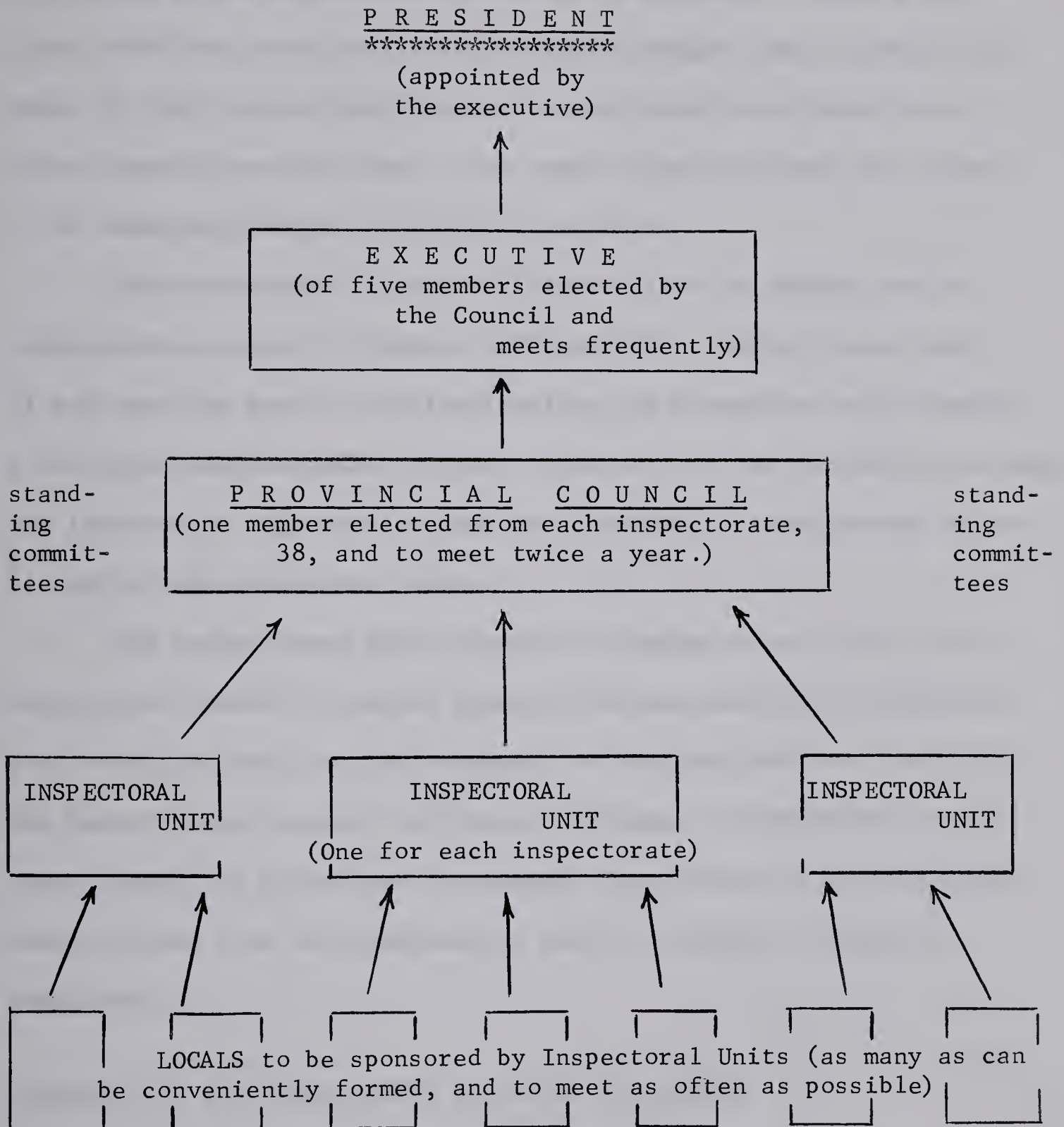


FIGURE I

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION OF THE SASKATCHEWAN
RURAL TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

convention of the Saskatchewan Education Association. During the First World War rapid social and economic changes made teachers more aware of their common problems and the attitudes they shared as a group toward these problems. As a result, there emerged the concept of an organization specifically for teachers.

The Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance grew in numbers and in recognition, especially between 1927 and 1931. During these years it had seen the need to institutionalize its procedures and to retain a full-time administrative officer. However, it had neither the strength nor the type of organization that would enable it to withstand the onslaught of the depression years.

The Saskatchewan Rural Teachers' Association was born of the desperation caused by chaotic economic and administrative conditions and the belief that the vast majority of teachers had lost faith in the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance. Although its membership was never large,⁶ it introduced two notable innovations: a representative, decentralized form of organization, and the concept of statutory membership.

Formation of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation

The environment. During the early 1930's Saskatchewan was hit doubly hard by adverse conditions; the economic depression that occurred

⁶A total of 762 memberships in the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance and the Rural Teachers' Association were transferred into the S.T.F. in January, 1934 (53:2). In November, 1933 the Alliance had 412 members (43:2). Thus, the R.T.A. membership appears to have been approximately 350.

throughout the western world was coupled with a prolonged drought. To a province in which agriculture was estimated to account for ninety-five per cent of production (55:252), the combination of crop failures and sharply reduced prices for farm products spelled disaster.

Despite adversity, or more likely because of it, Saskatchewan people sharpened their interest in facing their problems co-operatively. The privations of the period "drew neighbors together for spontaneous co-operation most needed in harvest time, and reminiscent of the proud interdependence of the early agricultural pioneers" (55:222). However, co-operative movements had been emerging on the prairies since the end of World War I.⁷ The Saskatchewan Wheat Pool had been formed in 1923. The United Farmers of Canada, Saskatchewan Section, was established in 1926. Farmers were seeking co-operative strength to give themselves a tenable bargaining position in the markets of the nation and the world. Locally, consumer co-operatives, grazing associations, community hall construction groups, and community beef rings were being established. In the arena of politics, a new movement led to the formation in 1933 of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, advocating a programme of agrarian socialism (12). Organization was attractive. Social reform was on every tongue.

The educational environment during the early 1930's is reflected in the reports that were submitted to the Department of Education by the inspectors of schools. A selection of their comments was included

⁷For a description of these developments during the decade of the 1920's, see Wright (55:187-214).

in the 1932 report of the chief inspector:

"The teachers have borne and are bearing rather more than their share of the financial loss that has fallen upon the province, but this has been done cheerfully and often courageously."

"Realizing that no financial aid could be secured from outside sources, every effort was made to operate at a minimum cost. Teachers' salaries were reduced to a very low figure; operating expenses were eliminated as much as possible; secretaries offered their services gratis; arrangements were made to board the teacher on time or to have the amount of the board bill applied on taxes; even farm products such as butter, eggs, meat, vegetables, coal, etc., were given to teachers residing in teacherages in exchange for their services."

"School libraries are in poor condition generally. Only one or two districts were able to make an addition to the library this year. The old books are wearing out and they cannot be replaced at present" (23:42-43).

The report of the inspection of schools issued the following year indicated that conditions in 1933 were equally unfavorable and that the teachers themselves were, if anything, becoming even more hard-pressed. Again the report includes extracts from the inspectors' reports to the Department:

"Teachers find the continued performance of their duties beset with difficulties, among them being the reductions in salaries, inability to collect earnings when due and the feeling that the tenure of position is insecure, but notwithstanding these discouragements they are in most instances remaining at their posts with a spirit of self-sacrifice which is commendable."

"An added difficulty is a tendency in too many instances to dismiss teachers for petty or trivial reasons . . . These and other abuses of office make one confident that the time has come to make substantial changes in our present system of school organization."

"Since the great surplus of teachers in our province has come into being a very bad practice on the part of school boards has developed. I refer to the act of dismissing teachers with whose work they are well satisfied and advertising for another for the sole purpose of getting the salary down."

"Naturally very little has been done in repairing, improving, and decorating classrooms or buildings. Largely

the need for such activity has increased. A similar remark applies to libraries and equipment (24:35, 38-39).

It is apparent that the economic and educational aspects of the environment in which Saskatchewan teachers found themselves in 1933 were deplorable and chaotic. The individual felt helpless to apply remedies. The time was ripe for an organization that promised alleviation of distress through co-operative strength.

Toward a federation. The last annual provincial convention to be sponsored by the Saskatchewan Education Association and the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance was held in Saskatoon in 1932. It was at this meeting that a proposal to amalgamate the two organizations was first given qualified approval. A joint committee was established to study the proposal and to report back the following year. Perhaps the establishment of this committee led to some discussion of the proposal at the inspectorate conventions that fall. But before the joint committee had begun its study a new factor had been introduced; the Rural Teachers' Association was formed in October, 1932.⁸ The extent to which the platform and the proposed organization plan of the R.T.A. influenced the decisions of the joint committee is

⁸The formation of yet another teachers' organization generated a measure of controversy. One view was that the rural teacher was not adequately represented by existing organizations and deserved an organization that would be responsive to his needs and wishes (6). An indication of the lack of rural representation in the S.E.A. and the S.T.A. was that the joint committee on amalgamation consisted of six members from Saskatoon, one from Regina, and one from Moose Jaw--the three largest cities (45:1). The opposing view was that, rather than creating a new organization, teachers should be directing their efforts towards making the existing organizations operate effectively (17).

not clear. However, when it met on March 11, 1933 to draft a constitution for an organization to be known as the Saskatchewan Education Federation, the joint committee proposed that the officers would be elected "by members of an electoral council, who shall consist of one representative from each inspectorial district . . ." (45:1). Although the report of the joint committee was intended for the next provincial convention, it was never delivered, for the two parent organizations decided that to hold a provincial convention in 1933 would be financially impossible. On March 25, 1933 the Executive of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance accepted the draft copy of the proposed constitution that had been prepared by the joint committee, and decided as follows:

Re: the matter of the Rural Teachers' Association. The Secretary was instructed to write a letter to E. W. Campbell /secretary of the R.T.A./ informing him that the convention had been cancelled for this year and also supplying information concerning the proposed merger of the S.T.A. and the S.E.A. It was also decided to enclose a copy of the proposed constitution and to ask for the constructive criticism of the same (37:3).

The nature of the criticism supplied by the Rural Teachers' Association in response to this invitation is unknown, but the S.T.A. Executive minutes of May 27, 1933 contain this somewhat cryptic and enigmatic statement:

The President read correspondence from the Secretary of the Rural Teachers' Association. The expression was unfavorable with regard to the proposals contained in the correspondence (38:3).

What is clear is that the Rural Teachers' Association, upon being informed that the S.E.A.-S.T.A. provincial convention had been cancelled, hurriedly arranged to hold its own provincial convention during Easter

Week. There was not time for any great amount of publicity and this, coupled with financial conditions, prevented a large attendance (32:1). However, the convention did permit the R.T.A. to complete its scheme of organization⁹ and to lay plans for expanding its membership during May and June. No reference was made to the possibility of amalgamation with the other organizations. It was not until September, 1933 that the R.T.A. added to its objectives the following specific item:

The affiliation with other educational organizations, and the uniting of independent groups of teachers according to the foregoing plan /the R.T.A. plan of organization/ - the completed organization to be called the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (33:1).

The apparent aloofness between the S.T.A. and the R.T.A. continued. In his final letter to local secretaries prior to his resignation, the S.T.A. general secretary discussed the plan for S.T.A.-S.E.A. amalgamation, and added:

While the original amalgamation was arranged particularly for the organizations already mentioned, the basis of union may be interpreted liberally. If there is any other organization which has similar aims and purposes, in the province of Saskatchewan, the way is open for some mutual understanding on a similar basis . . . (40).

It was like a game of checkers, with neither player willing to make the first move.

Finally it was the teachers themselves who provided the catalyst. Resolutions from the fall conventions in 1933 confirmed that teachers were more interested in seeing one organization for all teachers than in seeing one of the existing organizations become the victor (39:2).

⁹See Figure 1, page 36.

A key convention was the one held in the Balcarres Inspectorate. Having listened to presentations by representatives of both the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance and the Rural Teachers' Association, the teachers of the Balcarres Inspectorate Association decided to affiliate with neither, but rather to seek unification of all teachers in one organization. The convention chairman, John H. Sturdy, was asked to arrange a meeting of representatives from the three existing organizations to discuss the matter. Sturdy recalls the subsequent events in these words:

In October of that year October 14, 1933 the representatives of each of the organizations--the S.T.A., the S.E.A., and the R.T.A.--and three or four other persons attended the meeting held at my home in Fort Qu'Appelle. The upshot of the meeting, which lasted most of the night, was that the three organizations agreed to recommend to their Executives that they forego their autonomy and set up a meeting of their Executives to form the S.T.F. (51).

The meeting of the organizations' Executives was arranged for October 28, 1933 in the Regina Central Collegiate Institute. It was almost prevented by inclement weather. The minutes of the S.T.A. Executive meeting, which was being held the same day, include these entries:

A telegram from Mr. E. W. Campbell of the Rural Teachers' Association was then read, announcing difficulty in getting to Regina¹⁰
 Mr. J. H. Sturdy of Fort Qu'Appelle announced to the Executive that he had received a telegram from Mr. E. W. Campbell stating that he and Mr. G. J. Buck would arrive in the city about six o'clock, and asked that a meeting be arranged
 Mr. E. W. Campbell and Mr. G. J. Buck of the Rural Teachers' Association, also Mr. W. R. Waind and Mr. J. H. Sturdy of the Balcarres inspectoral convention were received 6:30 p.m.
 The President outlined the steps leading up to this meeting.

¹⁰Buck recalls that he and Campbell at one point considered chartering an aircraft, "though I'm sure I don't know where we'd have got the money." On their return journey their car became firmly stuck in a snow drift (4).

MacKay-McLeod: That the Executive of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance adjourn to enter a round-table discussion, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. H. Sturdy, for the purpose of considering the future of teachers' organizations in Saskatchewan. Carried.

The adjourned meeting of the Executive was resumed at 11:10 p.m. (39:1, 3).

The success of the round-table discussion was recorded in the next

Official Bulletin of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance:

The meeting was characterized by remarkable professional spirit and enthusiasm and was eminently successful. Both executives threw their preconceived plans under the table, forgot their identity as S.T.A. or R.T.A., and worked out, on the basis of common sense and practicability, the main outlines of a new provincial organization for which the name of "The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation" was favored. Saskatchewan Educational Association representatives were invited to attend, but found themselves unable to be present. We feel no apprehension on the matter of their concurrence, however, as the plan approved at the meeting falls very largely in line with suggestions already made by their committee. In fact we think it is correct to state that the new scheme of organization combines all the best features of the proposals of S.E.A., S.T.A., and R.T.A., with certain valuable new features that were in none of the others (43:1).

The next step was to submit the plan to all the inspectorate organizations in the province for study, and to invite them to send a delegate to the organizing meeting to be held in the Regina Normal School on December 28, 1933. The interest of the local groups in the proposals is indicated by the number of them that accepted the invitation to be represented. Of a possible total of forty-seven voting delegates, thirty-nine were present when the meeting was called to order; only eight of the rural inspectorates were without representation (18:3; 24:2, 10).

The meeting was a lengthy one, commencing at 9:30 a.m. and adjourning at 11:00 p.m. Essentially its task was to review clause by

clause the draft constitution which had been created at the meeting of October 28th. The proposed constitution had been carefully prepared. Of equal importance was the unanimity with which the inspectorate association representatives began their review. Although more than thirty motions were presented to them, not one was defeated or amended.¹¹ The following basic principles were adopted:

1. That "a teachers' federation be formed representing all inspectorate organizations of the Province of Saskatchewan, together with the city groups not under inspectoral supervision . . ." (18:1).
2. That the legislative body be a Provincial Council, consisting of one councillor from each inspectoral unit, one from the city of Moose Jaw, and two each from the cities of Regina and Saskatoon.
3. That no councillor shall be admitted to Council unless at least one-half of the members of his local body of teachers are paid-up members of the S.T.F.
4. That this meeting be a provisional Council until councillors can be duly elected at fall conventions.
5. That an Executive consisting of a president, vice-president and five other members be elected by and from the Council.
6. That membership fees be "one-tenth of one percent of salary as per agreement" (18:2).

It is notable that the new organization was not an amalgamation of

¹¹The attitude of the representatives was summarized by J. R. MacKay, elected as the first president of the S.T.F.: "United we could accomplish something Divided we were pushing each other into the ground" (16).

existing organizations. "It was a new organization designed to replace ineffective organizations" (52). The provisional Council made three significant recommendations:

1. That the Federation be incorporated "for the purpose of giving guidance, internal government, discipline, and a professional code of ethics" (18:2).
2. That the Executive send a delegation to the government "with the view of securing a reasonable minimum wage for teachers in the province of Saskatchewan" (18:2).
3. That the Executive investigate the possibility of affiliation with the Canadian Teachers' Federation.

There was much to be done. Hopes were high. The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation came into existence on January 1, 1934.

The first year. The provisional Executive lost no time in beginning its many tasks. It appointed Lorne F. Titus, a Saskatoon collegiate teacher, to act as part-time secretary-treasurer. Titus and J. R. MacKay, the president, made arrangements for office accommodation in Saskatoon for the new organization--two small rooms in the Canada Building, at a monthly rental of fifteen dollars. The active membership of the S.T.A. and the R.T.A., together with meagre assets and many liabilities, were taken over by the S.T.F. The obstacles facing the Executive were soon apparent. On January 16th the president wrote to the other six Executive members:

We had planned to hold an Executive meeting at an early date, but owing to the fact that there will be scarcely fifty dollars in cash left when we get the office open and that we shall be needing about ninety or one hundred dollars per

month to run the office, we feel that the Executive meeting will have to be held back until the funds come in . . . (14).

The secretary provided this account of the first few months of 1934:

Fortunately the Alliance had bequeathed us the necessary office equipment, so that we needed to make primary expenditures only for supplies. We bought cheap stationery and typed our own letter heads until our finances permitted a better quality of paper and the luxury of printed envelopes and letter heads. We knew that we could not immediately count on memberships coming in from the rural areas in any large numbers. It was winter and not much work could then be done. We had to rely on the larger centres. We first explained the situation to the Saskatoon staffs and asked them to pay their fees at once even if their membership, carried over from the Alliance, had not expired. This they did and we got through the first two months . . . (53:1-2).

Even by June the spectre of financial need had not vanished. Titus recalls one incident that occurred:

To get the organization over the summer months, the Executive authorized the Secretary to carry an overdraft at the bank of up to \$800.00. In reality there was no such thing as an overdraft. The credit was obtained by a personal note given jointly by the President and Secretary . . . (52).

The organizing of each inspectorate association fell to the councillor for that area. His task was basically two-fold: to secure the membership fee from each teacher, and to organize "locals," the name that was soon applied to the ten or fifteen sub-groups of teachers into which an inspectorate could conveniently be divided. Probably it was the decentralized nature of the organizational scheme that contributed most to its success. Each councillor had no doubt come from the organizing meeting inspired with the promise that the embryonic organization offered and charged with a task which, though difficult, was at least manageable. There is evidence that he also had the important

support and assistance of the inspector of schools. For example, in February the Premier, who was also Minister of Education, had told the S.T.F. delegation that he "was in favor of the Inspectors of schools working with the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation" (34:3). Titus recalls that the inspectors "gave undivided support and almost all of them, when they visited their teachers, actually canvassed for S.T.F. membership" (52).

The most useful contribution of the central office to the organizing taking place locally was in the field of publicity and communication. G. J. Buck, publicity director and Executive member, used two means for contacting teachers: reports and articles about the S.T.F. contributed to the Modern Instructor, the Western Teacher, The School, and the daily press; and the monthly Federation publication, The Bulletin. The latter began as a four-page leaflet, multilithed by courtesy of School Publications and Specialties Limited (a company owned and controlled by some Saskatchewan teachers) at no cost to the Federation. The Bulletin was intended to develop among teachers, most of whom were teaching in isolated one-room rural schools, a feeling of belonging, a sense of identity with their professional colleagues. In the editor's words, "We have endeavored to make the Bulletin a semi-personal link between the Central Executive and the rural teacher, whose problems have been uppermost in our mind at all times" (5:2). Accordingly, each issue of volume one (1934) contained items that would appeal to the values, views and aspirations commonly held by the teachers. The February number stressed the plan of organization, the teacher's place in the plan, his proximity to fellow teachers, locals,

the councillor. The March number provided a glimpse of the Central Executive's meeting with the Premier, and conveyed the theme of "getting things done." The April number carried the replies by the leaders of the three political parties to a series of significant questions posed by the S.T.F.--more evidence of concrete action. (A provincial election was held in July.) In June teachers were given a progress report of the membership drives in the various inspectorates. The October issue stressed the theme, "In unity there is strength," and in December an article by the Dean of Education posed thought-provoking questions about the philosophy of a teachers' organization.

The autumn months were the crucial months. Fall conventions were held, and the teachers in each inspectorate were required to make decisions. As a group they had to decide whether to vote their inspectorate association into the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. As individuals they had to decide whether to become S.T.F. members, and whether to sign 'yes' or 'no' to the petition calling for compulsory membership.

The issue of compulsory membership had apparently lain dormant for several months. The Rural Teachers' Association had advocated the idea from the time of its inception in October, 1932. The Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance had never incorporated the idea into its platform, although it had taken votes of teacher opinion on the matter from time to time.¹² However, in the minutes of the amalgamation meetings in

¹²For example, the minutes of the S.T.A. Executive meeting held on March 25, 1933 state: "A discussion took place re the ballot on compulsory membership. It was decided that the returns to date were not large enough to be conclusive. The result to this date was as fol-

October and December of 1933 no reference was made to compulsory membership. The Bulletin for February, 1934 listed four immediate aims for the S.T.F., but compulsory membership was not among them. It was in the series of questions submitted in March to the leaders of the three political parties that the issue made its reappearance:

8. If the teachers of the Province intimate in their recorded vote in the annual inspectorate conventions that they desire compulsory membership in the teachers' professional organization, would you favor bringing down legislation to make such membership obligatory upon teachers in somewhat the same manner as doctors and lawyers are compelled to become members of their professional bodies?

Mr. Anderson

If the majority of the teachers in the Province are in favour of such legislation regarding compulsory membership, I would favour it.

Mr. Coldwell

Section (c) of Clause 10 of our program calls for "the establishment of a body upon which the teaching profession shall be adequately represented, to supervise the training, certification and efficiency of the profession." This involves a proper membership basis in any teachers' organization which is represented, and, if the teachers so desire, membership should be upon the basis you suggest. Teachers should be given an adequate voice through their representatives in all matters pertaining to the profession.

Mr. Gardiner

In answer to No. 8 I would say that I would desire to take into consideration all the circumstances surrounding any vote which might be taken in the inspectorate conventions and also the discussions which transpire before committing myself to a policy of compelling membership in a teachers' professional organization (35:3).

At the fall conventions teachers had the opportunity to sign the petition

lows: Total vote 1662; affirmative 1467; negative 195; men voting 629; women voting 1033; rural vote 1167; urban vote 495 . . ." (37:1). At a meeting of the high school section of the Alliance, held during the marking of departmental examinations in July, 1933, a ballot vote of the examiners "showed 200 in favor of compulsory membership with 43 against" (42:2).

requesting compulsory membership. A total of 3,105 teachers were in favor, 301 teachers were opposed. Ninety-one per cent of those voting had endorsed the proposal. The Council, in December, 1934, instructed the Executive to proceed at once with its plans to obtain compulsory membership and statutory recognition (46:2).

The drive for members had been equally successful. In his report to the Council in December the secretary was able to state:

When the office was opened in January there were 762 members transferred from the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance and the Rural Teachers' Association. The growth in membership accelerated until during the period of the fall conventions and since we have reached the splendid total of 5216 (53:2).

This total represented seventy-two per cent of all the teachers in the province. Moreover, every inspectorate association had surpassed the requirement that at least one-half of its teachers must be paid-up members, and every inspectorate convention had voted itself into the Federation.

Summary. The early 1930's were bleak days for Saskatchewan. The province was burdened with a depressed economy and a severe drought. The teachers, especially the eighty-five per cent of them who were in rural areas, suffered salaries that were extremely low and frequently unpaid. Their work had to be carried on in dilapidated classrooms with inadequate instructional materials. These conditions indicated to teachers the need for a single, unified professional organization. By the end of December, 1933, the existing organizations had agreed to forego their autonomy, and the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation was formed. During its critical first year the Federation launched an

intensive publicity programme to establish a contact with present and potential members; sought to influence the provincial government and the three political parties; secured the support of all inspectorate conventions and nearly three-quarters of the teachers in the province; and obtained a mandate from the teachers and the Council to press immediately for legislation to make S.T.F. membership a condition of employment as a teacher in Saskatchewan schools.

Statutory Recognition and Compulsory Membership

The preliminary steps. The first tactic selected by the Executive to implement the Federation's programme of action was to solicit pledges from the political parties. A provincial election was expected momentarily (it was held on July 8th) and the Executive, at its meeting on February 3, 1934, made a decision:

It was moved by Mr. Furse and seconded by Mr. Scott that the leaders of the three principal political parties be asked to state the party's policy on certain definite questions of educational importance in Saskatchewan and that they be told it is for publication. Carried (47:1-2).

The device was not a new one. It had been used with success by the Alliance during the 1929 election in its campaign for a superannuation scheme. When the nine questions were prepared for submission to the party leaders, the question of compulsory membership was eighth on the list. The leaders agreed to the proposal, but the written reply by Mr. Gardiner, leader of the Liberal Party, was so ambiguous as to be of doubtful value.¹³ Fortunately, the written questions and answers

¹³See page 50 of this study.

were reinforced by personal interviews between Executive members and the party leaders. Titus was a personal friend of J. W. Estey, who was to be elected M.L.A. for Saskatoon and be appointed Minister of Education in the new Liberal government. Titus and MacKay, both Saskatoon teachers, were successful in enlisting Estey's support for the principle of statutory recognition and compulsory membership, provided the Federation's membership could be raised on a voluntary basis from forty-five to seventy per cent (20:45-46). Meanwhile, at Melville, which was Gardiner's constituency, Buck and Campbell had, prior to the election, obtained a similar commitment. Buck recalls:

Mr. Gardiner was at some sort of meeting at Melville. So I met him one evening with Ed Campbell, in the King George Hotel. We asked him if we could see him and he said 'yes.' And we told him what we were doing in the matter of organizing teachers, and that we had got so far but . . . all the teachers weren't satisfied and we needed inclusive membership, as a condition of employment Mr. Gardiner said, "If you can show us that the teaching staff in the province wants compulsory membership, we'll give it to you" (4).

Similar care had been taken to contact personally the representatives of all parties. In Buck's opinion, "No matter who was in power the same thing would have happened, I'm sure, from their promises . . ." (4).

When the ballots were counted, the Liberals had fifty seats, the C.C.F. had five, the Conservatives none (55:230). In the months that followed, the teachers registered their concurrence in and the Council gave its approval to the principle of statutory membership as a condition of employment. It was time for the next step.

Meeting the cabinet. The Executive met the Premier and Cabinet

on January 5, 1935. The president later gave this account of the meeting:

Fortunately we had anticipated the Council's decision /to approve compulsory membership⁷ and had the Act drafted and ready. One week after the Council closed its discussions we met the Government in Regina and put our case before them. There was no occasion for delay once the rightness of our plea was manifest, for we had the Bill ready to present to the legislature (15:2).

The proposed Act was modeled on the Acts which established the legal and medical professions in the province. The Executive justified the Bill on the grounds that it would benefit the cause of education in Saskatchewan, that it would enable the Federation to promote progressive educational policies, and that increased solidarity in the profession would promote increased efficiency (36:6). Only one significant change was made. Although the Federation requested the inclusion of disciplinary powers, the Executive agreed with the Cabinet that these would be deferred until a code of ethics had been developed and adopted by the Federation.¹⁴

In the legislature. Bill No. 72 was introduced in the legislature by A. T. Proctor (Liberal - Moosomin) and received first reading on February 6, 1935. Its most significant sections stated that the Federation "is continued as a body corporate and politic," and that "all persons employed as teachers in schools . . . shall, as a condition of their employment, be members of the federation" (1:3044). The

¹⁴Although a code of ethics was formulated soon after, it was not until 1948 that the Act was finally amended to enable the Federation to discipline members found guilty of professional misconduct.

Bill proceeded through second reading on February 12th, received third reading and was passed on February 14th, and received Royal Assent on February 21st. The Lieutenant-Governor read the Speech of Prorogation in the legislature on February 22nd, summarizing the major accomplishments of the session. The speech made no reference to An Act Respecting the Teaching Profession, even though it was the first Act of its kind ever to be passed in the English-speaking world (27).

Reactions to the Act. The response of teachers to the new Act appears generally to have been one of agreement and satisfaction. They had requested it and their request had been granted. Of course there were some dissenters. Buck recalls that some objected on the ground that compulsory membership "wasn't democratic" (4). Stewart states that the general attitude of teachers toward compulsory membership was "very divided" because it was felt by some that "teachers were being denied the right of choice" (50). MacKay believes that "Saskatchewan teachers were generally favorably disposed towards compulsory membership. Some did not like it as a matter of principle, as an invasion of their freedom, but they bowed to the necessity, when they understood it" (16). W. S. Lloyd, who at the time was councillor for the Swift Current Inspectorate and who later served four years on the Executive and four years as president of the Federation, says: "There was a minimum of opposition from any teachers. I can recall some debate on it. I can recall one or two teachers arguing against the point, but in general it was by the force of the economic argument of the day that teachers were convinced that the strongest possible organization

was essential, and it was just about as simple as that" (13).

The school trustees seem to have paid very little attention to the Act at the time it was passed. A resolution to the 1936 trustees' convention condemning the Act was overwhelmingly defeated. Indeed, the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association soon after adopted a resolution requesting automatic membership on a similar basis (3:68).

The public appears to have been virtually oblivious to the new legislation. There is no record of either alarm or approbation being expressed by any segment of the populace. The newspapers, usually alert for controversial items, recorded the passage of the Bill toward the end of a prosaic and lengthy article listing the many Bills that were before the House (25). In its lead editorial entitled "The Session Ends" the Regina Leader-Post listed what it considered the significant attainments of the recent session, but the Teachers' Federation Act was not among them (26).

What most influenced the government to pass the Act remains a matter of conjecture. Unfortunately, no record was kept of cabinet deliberations on the matter, and the Premier and the Ministers primarily involved in the decision are now deceased. Buck attributes the government's decision mostly to promises previously obtained from the Premier and the Minister of Education, as well as to the teachers' overwhelming endorsement of the idea (4). Sturdy says the answer is simply that, at a time when all governments were hard pressed for funds, "it didn't cost them anything" (51). Paton offers two possible explanations: (1) "that depression and drought conditions had so weakened the public school system that all men of good will welcomed any change

likely to bring improvements" (20:47); and (2) that the government was "impressed by the sincerity and firmness" with which teachers seemed ready to attack the problems facing education (21:9). Whatever the explanation, the government's action has long since become more important than its reason for acting. Within eighteen years every province in Canada had adopted similar legislation (20:55-56).

Conclusion

The emergence and legitimation of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation involved a series of ideas, or value premises, which teachers came to perceive, to share, to accept as desirable, and to use as guides to appropriate action. The tendency for teachers as a group to perceive and accept certain ideas arose from their similar background and outlook, and from their similar experiences in the educational system. Their views of what was good or not good for education and for teachers were more alike than would be the views of laymen. The more traumatic their experiences in the educational system, the more drastic was the action that they were prepared to deem acceptable and appropriate.

In the twenty years prior to 1935, their experiences had led Saskatchewan teachers successively to accept six ideas, and to take the action required to implement these ideas. Just as the acceptance of these six ideas by teachers led to their preparedness to take the appropriate action, so the acceptance of a seventh idea by the legislature (and thus by the people) led it to adopt the necessary measures. These experiences, ideas, and actions are summarized in Table II.

TABLE II
STEPS IN THE LEGITIMATION OF
THE SASKATCHEWAN TEACHERS'
FEDERATION

The experience	The idea	The necessary action
A. <u>Teachers</u>		
1. In the S.E.A. many members were mildly interested in but not personally dedicated to reforms in teachers' economic and professional status	An organization for professional educators only	Forming and joining the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance
2. The Moose Jaw strike occurred; contract and superannuation legislation were obtained	Unified group action supported by the members	Supporting colleagues who are (1) taking action, or (2) seeking reforms
3. Most teachers did not or could not attend provincial conventions	A decentralized organization with individual participation	Accepting the R.T.A.'s plan of organization
4. Rivalry between organizations was detracting from their common objectives	One teachers' organization	Disbanding the S.E.A., the S.T.A. and the R.T.A., and forming the S.T.F.
5. The S.T.A. was not able to provide protection and security	A large membership to ensure strength	Joining the S.T.F.; affiliating the inspectorate associations
6. Resources had been exhausted merely in attracting members	Guaranteed membership to continue strength	Requesting and accepting compulsory membership
B. <u>The legislature</u>		
7. Teaching was suffering from poor conditions, a rapid turnover in personnel, and low morale	A strong and progressive teaching profession	Granting statutory recognition and compulsory membership

Bertrand Russell says that traditional power "has on its side the force of habit; it does not have to justify itself at every moment, nor to prove continually that opposition is not strong enough to overthrow it" (29:38). If an organization has this kind of power, says Schermerhorn, it has legitimacy (49:35). When first the teachers of Saskatchewan and then the people of Saskatchewan were prepared to grant it legal status, recognition, and the prerogatives specified in its constitution, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation had attained legitimacy.

II. ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR

The aspect of a social organization that gives it its dynamic character is its systems of activities. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an examination of the major activity systems involved in the organizational behavior of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation as it strove to attain legitimacy.

The Major Activity Processes

The social organization employs systems of activities which (a) develop and legitimize its organizational charter; (b) acquire, maintain, transform, and utilize its basic resources in achieving its objectives; and (c) preserve its unique wholeness in the face of internal and external change.¹⁵ Activities which accomplish the first of these three purposes are called identification activities.

¹⁵See Bakke (2:43-68), and pages 4-10 of this study.

Identification activities. The development of a commonly understood organizational charter is dependent upon activities that define, clarify, legitimize, and symbolize the image of the unique wholeness of the organization, including its function and the main features which distinguish it from other organizations. What is the S.T.F.? What are its objectives? How does (or can) it operate to attain its ends? What significance does it have for me--how can it help me or can I help it? On what values is it based? Individuals had to become aware of such questions as these, and to have answers for them (although the answers might not be fully articulated) before the organizational charter--the image of the S.T.F.'s unique wholeness--could be said to have been established in the minds of members and outsiders.

The need for identification activities arises from four sources (2:51). First, agents of the organization cannot sense from direct experience the whole of the organization, since their relation to many parts is indirect and mediated through the activities of other agents. No one member or officer of the S.T.F. had the opportunity to interact with all the members of the organization. No one person could have experienced all the activities in all the inspectorate organizations. Any one person was dependent upon his limited direct experience in S.T.F. affairs, supplemented by second-hand reports about activities occurring elsewhere. It was therefore necessary for each person affected by the organization to have a mental picture of its nature, scope, and purpose. If he had such a picture, his own experience with the organization became a part of a meaningful whole. Second, the need for

identification activities arises from the fact that agents' self-conceptions, shaped in contact with many organizations, must be modified to make them willing to identify their interests with those of this organization. In addition to being a Federation member, a teacher fills many roles: a school staff member, perhaps a husband and father, probably a church member, possibly a service club member, and so on. Each role would have its effect upon the person's self-conception. If the teacher were to identify his own interests with those of a teachers' organization, he would have to experience activities that would lead him to sense needs and to share attitudes in common with other members of the teacher group. A third need for identification activities arises from the fact that identification with an organization is difficult, if not impossible, without an image of the organization as a unique whole and an understanding and acceptance of the basic value premises which justify the existence of the organization, its claims upon members, and their association with it. It was difficult, if not impossible, for a teacher to feel that he was a part of the Federation unless he had a clear idea of its nature, scope and purpose, and unless he had a feeling of agreement with its goals. The fourth need for identification activities is that the organization, in its relations with people and organizations in its environment, finds such relations facilitated by their understanding of its unique wholeness. Until it was known and understood by its members and by other people, the Federation could not proceed to fulfill its function. Until its image was established it was not recognized as an organization that deserved attention and consideration by persons and other organizations in the

internal and external environment. It is clear, then, that identification activities fill an organizational need and that such activities were essential in the development of the S.T.F.

The purpose of identification activities in the S.T.F. was to develop and legitimize the organizational charter. It is appropriate at this point to give some attention to the content of the organizational charter, or the image of the Federation, that was being developed.

The image of unique wholeness "is basically a set of ideas shared by the participants" (2:38). Obviously, the first identifying feature in the image of an organization is its name. Each word in the name "Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation" had significance for the members. Education was ultimately a responsibility of the provincial government; a teachers' organization on a provincial basis was therefore appropriate. The second word in the name specified that the primary requisite for membership would be vocational rather than avocational. The word "Federation" was descriptive of the decentralized type of organization which was to be employed--a federation of local bodies of teachers. The function of the S.T.F., in relation to its environment and its participants, was to establish an acceptable pattern for relationships between and among teachers and to provide the teachers of the province with a means of acting collectively in dealing with other organizations. There were established certain major goals toward which the Federation, through its systems of activities, was expected by its members to employ its resources (including themselves). Some of these goals were long-range and continuing; these were embodied in the constitution and later in An Act Respecting the Teaching

Profession.¹⁶ Other goals were short-term and capable of immediate realization; the most important of these was the attainment of a statutory minimum salary. To fulfill its function and attain its goals, the Federation required specific policies. One of these was the despatching of several delegations to meet with officials of the provincial government--collective exhortation directed at external persons and organizations having the power to implement the desired reforms. In addition, the Federation adopted a form of political pressure in its questions submitted to the leaders of the three political parties. It is perhaps notable that the policies adopted by the Federation at this stage did not include direct action by individuals in the form of a strike.

In addition to the name, function, goals and policies, the organizational charter includes reciprocal rights and obligations, significance for the self-realization of others, value premises and symbols. Each of these features needs some elaboration.

The image of the organization includes the major characteristics of the reciprocal rights and obligations of the organization and its participants with respect to each other. In other words, what should the Federation do for its members and what should they do for it? From the outset it was recognized and articulated (1) that the Federation should strive to improve the economic status and the collective strength of teachers as a professional group, and (2) that teachers should undertake to give the Federation their loyalty and active support

¹⁶See Appendix A.

whenever called upon to do so. These were the most significant of the internal reciprocal rights and obligations. Externally, a similar reciprocity emerged between the Federation and the legislature representing the people. The legislature granted to the Federation the rights of incorporation and compulsory membership, and obligated others (including its own Department of Education) to recognize the S.T.F. as the only official voice of the teaching profession in Saskatchewan (1:3050). On the other hand, the S.T.F. became obliged to work towards an improved and vigorous teaching profession dedicated to promote the cause of education in Saskatchewan.

To attain legitimacy an organization must be seen by organizations and people, both externally and internally, to be significant for their own self-realization. The S.T.F. became significant in this way to at least three others: the individual teacher, groups of teachers within the Federation, and the provincial government. To the individual teacher, the Federation offered the expectation that his economic and professional status could be improved through unity and co-operative effort; in addition, it offered him the opportunity to overcome in some measure his isolation from professional colleagues and to join with them in a common endeavor. To various sub-groups of teachers in the province the Federation offered the means for realizing unity in the profession and attaining better conditions of employment--aims that they as local teachers' organizations had pursued for years with little success. These sub-groups included inspectorate associations such as Balcarres, Melville, Swift Current, and the Battlefords, as well as the teacher groups in the larger cities. To the provincial government the

requests by the Federation for statutory recognition became a means of acceding to the wishes of a segment of its electorate. Teachers were a significant, often influential, and highly dispersed group of electors; here was an opportunity to accommodate the wishes of such a group, with no apparent opposition from other groups in the province. Establishment of the Federation may have contributed to the provincial government's self-realization in yet another way. Education was a provincial responsibility, and an improved teaching profession might, as it was claimed, be an effective contributor to the upgrading of the Saskatchewan school system.

An important feature of the organizational charter is the value premises that legitimize the foregoing features (namely, the functions, goals, policies, rights and obligations, and significance for others). It has been previously indicated¹⁷ that certain shared values and attitudes had to emerge in the teacher group before it was prepared to accept a number of new ideas, the implementation of which resulted in the formation and legitimation of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. Related to this feature of the organizational charter is the content of the ideational resources.¹⁸

The final feature of the organizational charter is the symbols used to clarify, focus attention upon, and reinforce the foregoing features. These symbols serve as cues to bring to mind the content of the organizational charter and reinforce its hold upon the minds of

¹⁷See Table II, page 58.

¹⁸See below, pages 72-73.

both participants and outsiders. Such symbols were not commonly used during the Federation's early years. Perhaps two things filled this symbolic role; one was the abbreviation by which the organization became best known--"the S.T.F."--and the other was the monthly publication, The Bulletin, which, apart from its function and its content, became for teachers a symbol of what the Federation stood for, and of what they had in common.

A summary of the content of the organizational charter of the S.T.F., as it existed in 1934-35, is included in Table III. It must be noted that by 1935 the image of the organization was still incomplete. It was expanded and changed by identification activities of subsequent years and by the other activity processes in which the Federation was to become engaged.

Attention has been given to the purpose of and the need for identification activities, as well as to the content of the organizational charter that they developed and legitimized. It remains to consider some of the specific patterns of behavior within the Federation that constituted identification activities. Specifically, what were some of the activities that were initiated expressly or mainly for the purpose of making the S.T.F. a meaningful image in the minds of members and others? The most important identification activities were those related to publicity and to discussion. The main purpose of the Bulletin during the first year or two, and of the articles published in educational journals and the press, was to make all people, but especially teachers, aware of what the new Federation was, what it stood for, and what it was doing to fulfill its function. At the

TABLE III

CONTENT OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL CHARTER OF THE
SASKATCHEWAN TEACHERS' FEDERATION,
1934-35

Identifying feature	Content of the feature
1. Name	Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation
2. Function	To institutionalize the procedures by which teachers might deal effectively with one another and, as a group, with their environment
3. Major goals	Long-term objectives: as specified in the <u>Teachers' Federation Act</u> Short-term objectives: to obtain a statutory minimum salary
4. Major policies	Collective exhortation directed at the provincial government; use of a kind of political pressure (questionnaires to leaders of the political parties)
5. Internal reciprocal rights and obligations	The Federation should improve the economic status and collective strength of its members; the members should give the Federation their loyalty and support
6. External reciprocal rights and obligations	The legislature (the people) should give the Federation statutory membership; the Federation should give society a progressive teaching profession
7. Significance of the organization for the self-realization of others	For the teacher: improved conditions through co-operative strength; satisfaction of a need for belonging and security For sub-groups of teachers: achievement of unity and objectives, unattained through former organizations For provincial government: satisfying a significant part of its electorate; contributing to improvement in education
8. Value premises	Ideas that resulted in legitimation of the Federation (see Table II, page 58)
9. Symbols	The abbreviation, "S.T.F."; the <u>Bulletin</u>

same time, discussion was adopted as the best method to familiarize teachers with the S.T.F. and to involve them in determining its future activities. The originators of the Federation had chosen the procedure of having at least one key man in each local area. His attempts at forming small groups of teachers (later to become "locals") for discussions, and his urging at fall conventions that all teachers and the inspectoral association as a whole join the S.T.F., ensured that the image of the new organization was projected at teachers' meetings throughout the province. The councillor's discussions and reports locally and the publications and activities of the S.T.F. provincially had the fortunate and intended effect of reinforcing one another. At the annual Council meeting, the address of the president and the report of the secretary stressed the efforts and the attainments of teachers working as a unified group. Comparable addresses and reports were a feature of the inspectorate conventions. Other activities, such as voting by teachers on specific proposals, and electing officers for the local association and a representative to the Council, although they were intended primarily to be ends in themselves, were in fact incidental contributors to and reinforcements for the developing image of the S.T.F.

The identification activity process in an organization would be complete only when every member of the organization, and every person or organization affected by it, had a complete picture of all the features of the organizational charter. It is obvious that this situation would never be realized. It therefore follows that identification activities, while they require and receive the greatest attention

and emphasis during the first years of an organization's existence, are in fact an on-going process that must continually take place. In other words, the image must be continually introduced to and expanded for new members, outsiders, or other organizations within the environment. Otherwise the organizational charter will fade and the organization will begin to deteriorate.

The first activity system to be discussed has been identification activities--those which function to produce, legitimize, and symbolize the image of the unique wholeness of the organization. The next three activity systems--perpetuation activities, work-flow activities, and control activities--are those whose functioning is required in order to actualize that image.

Perpetuation activities. These are the activities that acquire, maintain, transform, develop, and renew the basic resources utilized by agents of the organization in the performance of their work for the organization (2:51-53). The need for these activities arises from the fact that certain basic resources required by the organization are used up and must be replenished, while others are such that they must be developed and transformed into the form that the organization requires. In the S.T.F., people constituted the most important basic resource. However, they were "used up" in the sense that, due to rapid turnover in teaching personnel, members who had become strongly identified with the Federation were replaced by teachers who knew little or nothing about it. Similarly, teachers selected to act as key people or councillors had to be "transformed" in the sense of

being given some instruction, assistance and encouragement in the tasks they were expected to perform. Similar problems of perpetual maintenance, and thus the need for perpetuation activities, were applicable to the other basic resources of the organization. There are five sub-classes of perpetuation activities and these are defined by reference to the basic resources utilized and by the specific function which the sub-class of activities perpetuates.

Personnel activities perpetuate human resources, or people--their abilities, predispositions, and self-conceptions. During the first year of the Federation's existence its chief need among the basic resources was for personnel. It needed technical and administrative personnel, it needed executive and leadership personnel, and it needed members. Personnel activities designed to obtain technical and administrative personnel were severely limited because of a shortage of another basic resource--capital. However, arrangements were made to retain the services of the clerk-stenographer who had held a comparable position in the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance; and to obtain, without remuneration, the part-time services of Lorne Titus, a practicing teacher, as secretary-treasurer. Personnel were required for leadership positions on the provincial Executive and in each of the inspectorate associations. The quality of the personnel elected to these positions can be measured to a considerable degree by the progress of the Federation during its first year. A striking example of this progress was its ability to increase its third type of personnel--members--seven times over (from 762 to 5,216) within the first eleven months of 1934. The most important personnel ac-

tivity was the pattern of activities that culminated in the guarantee of compulsory membership.

Service activities perpetuate materials, equipment, and plant. As with the provision of technical personnel, shortage of capital kept all service activities to an irreducible minimum. Monthly office rental of fifteen dollars, typed letter heads on cheap stationery, and contributed paper and service for producing the Bulletin underline the severe restrictions that had to be placed on service activities of all kinds.

Finance activities perpetuate capital. Of course, increased capital accompanied an increased membership. Before the membership had increased, however, and before guaranteed membership became a reality, the secretary-treasurer and other members of the Executive, in order to prevent utter collapse of the provincial office, had found it necessary to initiate finance activities that were unusual and extreme--collecting the following year's fees from paid-up members, and securing credit for the organization on the basis of the secretary's and president's personal notes.

Conservation activities perpetuate natural resources and access to them, and adapt them to the requirements of other activities. During its early years the Federation neither owned nor utilized natural resources. Although they were not susceptible to conservation activities in the usual sense, there were two resources of nature that did have an effect on the functioning of the S.T.F. The first of these was the geography and demography of Saskatchewan. More than seven thousand teachers were employed in some five thousand school districts;

the vast majority of teachers were teaching in relatively isolated, one-room rural schools. This fact, combined with a second natural resource--weather--provided serious obstacles to any plan of personal communication and group co-operation among members of the S.T.F.

Thoughtways activities perpetuate ideas. The ideational resources include the whole of the mental constructs which reflect the perceptions and interpretations people have of themselves, of others, of the aspects of their world which affect them, and appropriate and actual relationships among all these, and the principles which govern these relationships. To record the totality of ideas influencing a person or a group is impossible. However, it is possible to list some of the major premises and assumptions that affect the behavior of people in organizations. These major premises and assumptions will include concepts of values held and shared; of the self; of the character of the organization; of the individual's relationship to the organization; and of the organization's facilities, basic resources and strategies. Briefly stated, the member's behavior will be influenced by his perception of himself and by his perception of the organizational charter. Teachers tend to share common attitudes toward such topics as the value of education in society, the importance of teaching, and the respect that the teaching profession should command. As a group teachers are relatively intelligent and well-educated. Their academic background and professional training tend to make them receptive to new ideas and to the possibilities inherent in a potential plan of action. Attitudes such as these enabled teach-

ers to develop a series of basic ideas¹⁹ and to grasp rather quickly the various elements of the organizational charter of the S.T.F. However, ideas wither and need replenishing. Thoughtways activities are intended to expand established ideas and to generate new ones. In the structure of the S.T.F., new ideas were expected to arise in the inspectorate conventions and be forwarded to the Council and Executive for consideration and action. What tended to happen, however, was that in many instances ideas originated with the Executive and were then forwarded to the conventions and the Council for consideration and possible approval. Perhaps this should have been expected. The people in leadership positions, because of their greater contact, have the clearest image of the organization and the greatest opportunity to discover possible solutions or innovations. Probably they also feel the greatest responsibility to do so. From the beginning the Federation made provision for thoughtways activities through the appointment of special committees--groups of teachers to give concerted attention to a specific problem. During the first year, of course, this type of activity was, like others, restricted by lack of capital.

Work-flow activities. These constitute the central core of operations in the organization. Without work-flow activities all other activities are meaningless. Establishing the image of the S.T.F. and assuring the perpetuation of that image by providing ade-

¹⁹See Table II, page 58.

quate resources would be for no purpose unless the Federation began producing results of the kind it was set up to produce. Nonetheless, work-flow activities could not become fully operational until the organization had become adequately established. With considerable foresight in respect to this problem the president of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance, in the "Last Official Bulletin" of that organization, warned that there should "be no tendency toward impatience among teachers if the Federation does not succeed immediately in bringing about such reforms as a statutory minimum salary and absolute security of tenure" (44:1). This is not to say that work-flow activities were absent during the first year or two; a number of representations to the government, one within five weeks of the inception of the S.T.F., is evidence that such activities had indeed been begun. Perhaps the best illustration of work-flow activities is the steps that were taken to obtain the passage of the Teachers' Federation Act. It is correct to say, however, that work-flow activities during the first year or two often had to give way to the more urgent activities of identification and perpetuation.

Control activities. These are activities that control all the activities within the organization and assure their performance. As was the case with work-flow activities, control activities were not of major importance until the production and distribution of a complete range of services was fully underway. Some control activities did emerge soon after the organization was formed. Probably the best example is a series of directive, motivation, evaluation and communi-

cation activities in connection with the 1934 fall conventions. A key person was contacted in every area. Details of the target and the required results, together with instructions about procedure, were communicated to this key person. He was motivated by his own image of the potential organization, and by his sense of belonging to a hard-working team of key people. Lack of progress in any area resulted in remedial procedures or other approaches being arranged.

Homeostatic activities. It has been noted that identification activities produce the image, and that perpetuation, work-flow and control activities operate to actualize that image. The final class of activities--homeostatic activities--combines all the other activities in a co-operative system to preserve the integrity of the organization in an evolving stage of dynamic equilibrium (2:58-68). There are three synergic processes that can be observed to function in an organization in such a way as to keep it in a steady state of competence to perform its function. These are the fusion process, the problem-solving process, and the leadership process. Of these three, the process most evident in the S.T.F. during the first year or two was the leadership process.

Leadership activities are required in a social organization to provide (a) the vision or imagination as to developments and their significance; (b) the vision or conception of the implications for an evolving organization if it is to retain its integrity and functional effectiveness; (c) the initiative for launching activity to attain this concept while maintaining its integrity; and (d) a spur and guidance

to co-operation of participants in this development. It will be seen that leadership activities, like the other homeostatic activities, add no new elementary parts to the concept of the organization. Rather, they incorporate a number of classes of activities and focus them upon achieving a homeostasis while development and growth are taking place.

The persons occupying leadership positions in the newly-formed Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation were able to choose from the various activity processes and focus them in such a way as to maintain homeostasis. A specific example of the leadership process occurred with respect to the steps taken to obtain the Teachers' Federation Act. The leaders in the organization, and in the groups that founded it, saw the significance of developments in the environment, developments such as the decline in the support of the Alliance, the chaotic conditions in the province, and the kinds of assistance now required by teachers. They likewise saw the significance of certain fundamental ideas resulting from identification and thoughtways activities in the groups that preceded the S.T.F.--that the time was ripe for organizing teachers in a new way. They saw a major implication in the developments that had taken place: that the perpetuation activities of the new organization would have to produce guaranteed membership if the organization were to retain unity and effectiveness. During the fall of 1933 and the year 1934 the leaders initiated control activities (especially direction and communication) for launching the organization toward this concept while maintaining the image of the Federation that was being established. Finally, the leadership personnel employed certain control activities (notably motivation and evaluation)

in rallying key workers to their tasks and in prescribing remedial measures where the initial efforts had been unsuccessful. In short, the leadership process co-ordinated the various activity processes so that they became integrated into a functioning whole.

Conflict

When a variety of activity processes was occurring concurrently a degree of friction among them could be expected to emerge, despite the efforts of the homeostatic activities to prevent it. Two conflicts can be identified. The first conflict resulted from competition for scarce capital. Capital was the basic resource urgently required in the operation of all five perpetuation activities. Personnel activities required more capital to employ more technical and administrative personnel, as well as to provide training opportunities for agents of the organization at all levels. Service activities needed more capital to provide more adequate materials, plant and equipment. Finance activities were demanding capital to reduce the liabilities inherited from former teachers' organizations. Conservation activities (although this need was low on the priority list) suggested ultimately the acquisition of property to accommodate an expanded plant. And thoughtways activities were calling for capital to finance meetings of the research committee and other standing committees to produce basic data and ideas for improvement and growth. The conflict among the five perpetuation activities led to the establishment of certain priorities. It was decided that all inherited debts would be honored, and that these would be given first claim on the

Federation's capital resources before any expansion would be permitted in the minimal programme then being undertaken.

The second conflict arose between perpetuation activities on the one hand and identification activities on the other. Essentially the conflict was between two ideals: the security inherent in compulsory membership, and the individual freedom of choice inherent in voluntary membership. Perpetuation activities were built upon the former. With some teachers the S.T.F.'s identification activities were unsuccessful because the image of the organization failed to include the latter.

A third conflict emerged within the work-flow activities, and concerned the organizational objectives to which these activities should be most intensively devoted. Some of the Federation's objectives were concerned with economic welfare, others with professional development. Which deserved a prior claim on the work-flow and related activity systems within the S.T.F.? During the first years this conflict remained almost completely latent, for the Council's directive that salaries receive immediate and concerted attention was almost un-animously accepted by the members of the Federation. But the source of the conflict was present and reappeared in later years.

Ineffectiveness and Inefficiency

An activity system that fails to make a positive contribution to the operations and objectives of the organization as a whole is said to be ineffective. An activity system that fails to make a positive contribution to the goal realization of the participants in

the organization is said to be inefficient.²⁰

Specific illustrations of these two types of inadequacy are readily found in the organizations that preceded the S.T.F. A few of these examples will assist in clarifying the nature of inadequacies in the various activity systems. Identification activities are ineffective if there are evidences of wide variation in perceptions of the functions and features of the organization, or rebellion against such elements. The evidence indicates that teachers varied widely (primarily on a rural-urban basis) in their opinion as to whether the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance was sufficiently representative of all teachers. This feature appears to have been one reason that large numbers of teachers withdrew their support from that organization. Perpetuation activities are inefficient if they fail to realize advantageous results in more adequate resources equivalent to the costs involved in the attempt to do so. The inefficiency of some of the attempts by the Rural Teachers' Association to increase its membership is indicated by the fact that it was devoting more than seventy-five per cent of its capital to attracting and retaining members, with insufficient results; and by the fact that by the end of 1933 it had spent so much for this purpose that it had no assets to turn over to the new Federation (52). One symptom of ineffectiveness in work-flow activities is delays or interruptions in the flow of services; an example is the enforced suspension in 1932 of the Saskatchewan Teacher. To illustrate inefficiency in control activities one might cite the

²⁰ See page 8 and Appendix B.

early efforts of the Saskatchewan Union of Teachers. It devoted a considerable portion of its limited resources to contacting inspectorate associations, but obtained no appreciable response. Clearly, the costs of this action, intended to establish a system of control activities, had exceeded the returns. Finally, both ineffectiveness and inefficiency in homeostatic activities are indicated if there is disintegration in the organization. This symptom appeared after 1931 in the dwindling membership of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance, and most markedly in the rapid disintegration of the Saskatchewan Education Association.

An examination of the activity systems of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation during 1934 and 1935 reveals very few symptoms of ineffectiveness or inefficiency. At the outset perpetuation activities were ineffective in that there were quantitative shortages and qualitative inadequacies in the basic resources. This symptom was temporary, however, and the emphasis placed upon these activities by the Federation was sufficient to alleviate much of the deficiency by the end of the first year. A limited degree of ineffectiveness can be observed in three of the control activities. First, directive activities are ineffective if there is failure to have necessary action taken or failure to obtain compliance with a directive. In his second annual report, the secretary found it necessary to state:

I have felt at times that the Councillors could have helped more than they did. What I am saying, of course, does not apply to all As an illustration I might mention that a letter, carefully explanatory, went out in September asking the councillors to co-operate in getting a mailing list The lists which should have come to us early in October have been drifting in ever since, and even at

the present time fully one-third of the Councillors have not replied (54:3).

Second, motivation activities are ineffective if behavior varies from the type desired; the twenty-eight per cent of teachers who were not Federation members by December, 1934 indicated that motivation activities were not an unqualified success. Third, evaluation activities are ineffective if there are instances of disadvantageous results traceable to mistaken or untimely judgment. It is only with the greatest temerity that one might question the judgment of the Executive in its agreeing that disciplinary powers should not be included in the Teachers' Federation Act in 1935. Yet the exclusion of such powers was not rectified until 1948. Certainly the result of this agreement was ultimately disadvantageous to the Federation. Whether it was due to mistaken judgment or to governmental resistance that could not have been overcome must remain a matter of conjecture.

Ineffectiveness and inefficiency in the activity systems of the S.T.F. during its first two years are notable for their relatively minor degree in a few instances and for their complete absence in all others. Perhaps this could be expected. The organization was new. Symptoms that would arise with the passing of time had not yet begun to emerge.

Summary

During its first two years the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation placed major emphasis upon activities designed to develop, legitimize and perpetuate the image of its unique wholeness. The

major elements of the organizational charter established in these early years were summarized in Table III. The minimum of conflict that existed among the various activity systems could be explained primarily by the unanimity that prevailed with regard to the goals that were to be the Federation's immediate concern. Instances of ineffectiveness and inefficiency were restricted to only a few of the activity systems, and even in these the symptoms were of a relatively minor nature.

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CHAPTER IV

SALARY DETERMINATION

I. THE ISSUE

Introduction

It is conceivable that the salaries paid to teachers employed in the public schools might be determined in one of three ways. First, the salary to be paid to each teacher might be determined by the unilateral decision of the employing agency. Second, the salary might be determined unilaterally by the practitioners rendering the service (as is done by persons who work on a fee-for-service basis). Third, the salaries of the teachers might be determined by means of negotiation between the employing agency and the teachers it employs, with mutually acceptable conditions of employment being embodied in a collective agreement. The advent of free universal education made the second of these ways impracticable for determining teachers' remuneration. In Saskatchewan, teachers' salaries had traditionally been established in the first of these ways--by a decision of the school board. It was not until 1949 that the third, that of collective bargaining, became the legally established method by which teachers' salaries in the province would be set.

Teachers soon became aware that, if they were to exert greater influence with respect to the economic and professional status of teaching, they would have to obtain the right to participate as a group in the decisions about the remuneration to be paid. Although teachers

had been anxious to obtain this right for several years, it was the disastrous effect of the depression of the 1930's that made them recognize its crucial importance. However, they found themselves faced with a dilemma. If teachers as a group wanted to discuss their salary grievances with the people having primary responsibility for salaries, they had to meet with five thousand school boards--more than fifteen thousand trustees. If they took their grievances to the provincial government, which had the ultimate responsibility for education, they met the response that such a senior government had no moral right to interfere with school boards' decisions of this kind.

A salary schedule "to cover various classes of teachers and schools in the province" had been an objective of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation since its inception (27:3). Two decisions had to be made. First, at what level, local or provincial, should the efforts of organized teachers be focused in order to attain this objective? Second, which of the steps to attain the objective should receive priority? The answer to the first question, at least until 1945, was dictated by the existing administrative system; the multiplicity of local school districts made the provincial government the only practicable body from which to seek reforms. The answer to the second question was dictated by the impoverished living conditions of the lowest paid teachers; a legislated minimum salary was imperative. Success in obtaining larger administrative units and a statutory minimum salary would then permit negotiations directly with the employing board, and the establishment of a salary schedule based on preparation and teaching experience.

Conceiving the plan was one thing; implementing it was quite another. For six years teachers sought and practiced ways of arousing public sympathy and of precipitating government action. But it was not until 1940 that they finally obtained legislation providing a statutory minimum salary for teachers, and not until 1949 that their right to bargain collectively with their school board became established by law.

Seeking a Statutory Minimum

By 1933, teachers' salaries were 49.8 per cent lower than they had been in 1931 (28:3).¹ Teachers, especially those in the rural areas, were suffering physical privation and want. The only apparent device for effecting a remedy both sure and quick was provincial government action to require school boards to pay each teacher at least a specified minimum amount. As a Federation objective, this device had another advantage. It was simple and clear-cut, and its meaning and impact could be readily grasped by every member. At the fall conventions in 1934 teachers endorsed the principle of a statutory minimum salary by a vote of 3,554 to 40 (56:1).

Publicizing the teachers' plight. The meeting in December, 1933 at which the S.T.F. had been established had given the Executive

¹ The comparison cited was based on average salaries that had not been adjusted for changes in the consumer price index. When such an adjustment has been made, the comparison indicates that, in constant dollars, the average salary of Saskatchewan teachers decreased between 1931 and 1933 by 43.1 per cent.

specific instructions to "name a delegation to wait upon the government with the view of securing a reasonable minimum wage for teachers in the province of Saskatchewan" (23:2). The brief presented by the resulting delegation, together with the accompanying publicity in newspapers and the Bulletin, was the first of many attempts to bring the plight of the teachers to the attention of the government, the trustees, and the general public. After citing typical average salaries of rural teachers--\$431 in Kamsack, \$406 in Melville--the brief stated:

. . . there is precedent to support our contention for a statutory minimum salary in the Minimum Wage Act for female workers in hotels, cafes, restaurants, beauty parlours, etc. in this province. Workers in these places are protected by law from a wholesale reduction in remuneration for work, but the teacher who educates our children is compelled to see her living swept away, and there is no redress.

A waitress in hotels or restaurants, with some experience, is guaranteed by statute, a yearly remuneration of not less than \$574.80, exclusive of tips, bonuses, etc. Kitchen help (inexperienced workers) in hotels and restaurants, are guaranteed a yearly income of \$514.80. They need no special training, nothing beyond a Public School education. Our teacher must have at least three years in High School (most have four), a year in Normal School, and then she may teach for less than her sister receives who quit school at the end of Grade VII or VIII. In the Kamsack area alone, there are 63 employed teachers receiving a yearly wage (if they receive it) less than may be earned by a female waitress in a cafe, or even by the dishwasher in the same cafe (26:2).

The low rate of salary offered teachers was only one part of their difficulty. The other part was that a considerable portion of the contracted salary was not paid when it fell due. Instead, school boards adopted the practice of issuing the teachers promissory notes. In December, 1935 the S.T.F. president said:

In hundreds of these cases even the poor pittance for which they contracted to teach has not been paid, and today teachers in this province hold notes for probably over one million dollars, and the tragedy of it is that the teachers who hold the notes are the ones who were engaged for the lowest salaries, and these notes are not negotiable or negotiable only at tremendous discount, to people who do not scruple to make profit out of human misery. Instances are not lacking where teachers' notes have been taken at 40% or 50% discount and used to pay taxes in the same municipality at par value (22:5-6).

These conditions were to continue for a number of years. In 1937, the aggregate of rural teachers' salaries was 57 per cent less than it was in 1926. By the end of 1937 the arrears in teachers' salaries amounted to \$1,207,190.05 and of 5,151 school districts in the province, 2,909 had a backlog of unpaid salaries (25:7, 17).

Low salaries and unpaid salaries were not the only problems facing teachers as individuals and as a group. What little money school boards were able to raise was sometimes reduced because "some municipalities were diverting money collected for educational purposes to other municipal channels leaving the school districts short of funds and consequently unable to pay their teachers' salaries" (30:5). There was evidence too that many ratepayers, hoping for a repetition of the 1935 cancellation of tax arrears, were declining to pay the taxes levied (25:29). Although a programme of relief payments was established by the provincial government with federal government assistance, teachers were declared ineligible to receive benefits because they were employed for a salary; whether they received only a portion of the salary was not taken into consideration. In 1937 the provincial government increased the grants to school districts to their pre-depression level, and declared that the increased grants

should be used to raise the salaries of the teachers. The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation was advised that legislation requiring the grants to be used for salaries would be unnecessary, because school districts could be expected to use the additional money for this purpose. However, by December of that year an analysis had demonstrated that this faith on the part of the government had been misplaced. Eighty-four per cent of the increased grants had been appropriated by school boards for other purposes; only sixteen per cent had gone towards improvements in teachers' salaries (39:26-27). Turnover of teaching personnel was taking place at an alarming rate. In nearly one-fifth of the classrooms a change in teacher was taking place during the course of the school year (108:1).

On the strength of facts such as these, pleadings were offered and warnings were issued. Inspectorate associations discussed their grievances with their Members of the Legislative Assembly. The S.T.F. Council directed that during 1938 the Executive "revive the publicity and propaganda campaign of last year" (59:14). The campaign continued to generate a considerable amount of public sympathy, but not the kind of active support that resulted in action being taken. Finally, Lorne Titus, the president of the Federation, was led to declare:

Surely there is need for determined action to remedy conditions. I know some will accuse me of exaggeration. I have been so accused before, but I have never exaggerated conditions. It would be impossible for me to do so. When I read the letters written our office by teachers trying to teach while enduring actual privation my heart bleeds and I grow angry at any show of apathy. When a teacher writes that his only suit of underwear is three years old, that his infant child is without clothing, that himself and family had only twenty-seven dollars in three months to provide food and clothing, and that he asked for relief

and was refused because he was in receipt of a salary, I feel that I am lacking in the bowels of compassion if I do not cry out the existence of these conditions from the very housetops. Let people accuse me of exaggeration if they will, but I reiterate that this case is only one of many (110:10).

It was against such a background of pitiable conditions and severe economic hardship that teachers sought individually and collectively to obtain a guarantee that no teacher would receive less than \$750 per year.

Meeting the government. Between 1934 and 1938 the S.T.F. Executive met the Premier and members of his cabinet formally on at least ten occasions to present a brief and to discuss proposals for a statutory minimum wage for teachers. The first brief was presented on February 9, 1934. Dr. J. T. M. Anderson, who was Premier at the time, expressed himself in favor of the principle of a statutory minimum, and stated his position on the matter in the legislature (26:3). However, an election was imminent and action on the recommendation was deferred. The questions submitted by the S.T.F. to party leaders during the 1934 election campaign contained a question about salaries:

4. Are you in favor of a statutory minimum salary on a schedule basis being established for teachers, at the next session of the Legislature?

Mr. Anderson

Yes, I am in favour of a minimum salary for teachers, and I hope to have the honour of bringing this in at the next session of the Legislature as I promised on the floor of the House.

Mr. Coldwell

Yes, such minimum salary to be paid as in question 1 /equalized opportunity and finance to make proper provision for the adoption of salary schedules and appropriate minima salaries for various types of teachers and schools/.

Mr. Gardiner

I am in favor of a statutory minimum salary on a schedule basis being established for teachers. I understand it is the intention of the Government to bring down such a schedule at the present session of the Legislature. I am not certain that teachers are wise, if they are doing so, in suggesting or encouraging the establishment of a minimum salary at the present time. It would seem to me that the present is a most unsatisfactory time from the point of view of the teacher to have a minimum salary established. You can quite understand that under conditions existing that minimum would be necessarily lower than it would be under more prosperous conditions.

I am in favor of the principle and will support the setting up of a minimum salary but if I were the teacher, I would not be asking for it to be done either at this session or the next one (27:2).

After the new government had taken office, Federation representatives approached Premier Gardiner, in January, 1935, with the request that his election pledge be fulfilled. The government declined to take action in view of the prevailing economic conditions. The next meeting occurred on November 30, 1935; while advocacy of larger units of administration was the main item in the Federation's brief, it also reiterated the request for payment of "an adequate living wage to all teachers engaged in the schools of Saskatchewan" (73:4). The presentation on February 29, 1936 urged the restoration of school grants to their former level, so that an adequate minimum salary could be financed by school boards (32:15). In a letter to councillors about this meeting, the secretary stated that the government had "pleaded financial difficulties as the reason for its failure to restore grants. Your delegation used every avenue of approach, presented every argument and as a final resort requested the Premier to secure, through Federal aid if need be, living standards for our rural teachers now guaranteed to the relief-camp workers" (88). Delegations from the S.T.F. again met

the government on May 19th and October 30th. At this latter meeting a new device was employed. Six members of the Executive were accompanied by fifteen S.T.F. councillors, each of whom presented to the cabinet a first-hand account of the circumstances of the teachers in his area. Specific information was submitted respecting "the number of teachers receiving net salaries below \$200 per annum, the number to whom salary arrears were owing and the amount, the deplorable conditions of the schools, the lack of adequate clothing and sustenance for teachers, the condition of boarding and lodging accommodation and the hopeless condition of the teachers generally" (35:27). However, the Premier stated that under the present system of financing, a minimum salary would be impossible.

An indication of the government's reaction to the Federation's submissions is obtained from the following excerpts of the discussion that took place at the meeting on February 6, 1937:

Premier: . . . So far as "minimum salary" is concerned, we have given consideration to the matter, but it is doubtful in our minds if we can take action along that line at this time. One effect it would have would be to increase the problem of the teachers' notes, particularly in those areas where they have a considerable amount outstanding (4:3).

Hon. Mr. Davis: It seems to me that if you put in a minimum wage, you will be having the Normal Schools filled at once.

Mr. Titus: I would suggest that a study be made to determine what the requirements are for teaching personnel in the schools, and that entrance to the training schools be limited to supply that demand. I know the argument in the past was "These are your schools, everyone has a right to go to them that wants to." But I think there should be a limit to entrance or make the standard higher.

Hon. Mr. Davis: It is our experience that if you regulate one thing you open up a hundred other avenues that you have to regulate. Yesterday we had the restaurant keepers here about the minimum wage regulations. The little fel-

lows cannot meet the competition.

Mr. Titus: That is very true, but after all there is no reason why, if a condition is bad, you should not try a remedy.

Hon. Mr. Davis: But in applying a remedy you may create a condition that is worse (4:7-8).

Mr. Sturdy: What is the purpose of a government instituting a Minimum Wage Act? Is it not to prevent female workers from being victimized by their employers?

Premier: You are talking now about private industry, but when you talk of a school board you are talking of people elected by the people of the district and accountable to the people of the district. There's the difference. You are dictating to the elected trustees of the people (4:10).

The meetings continued. The 1937 Council meeting despatched a special committee of councillors to meet with the Minister of Education and to report to the Council the following day. Further submissions to cabinet were made on January 15 and April 22, 1938. The secretary's terse report on this latter meeting could have been applied to the previous nine as well: "On the whole the results of our representations were disappointing" (94:2).

The 1938 election. With the advent of another provincial election, the Federation decided to revive the device that had yielded a measure of success in 1929 and 1934--the submission of a questionnaire to the political parties. A list of six questions was prepared for reply, not just by the party leaders this time, but by all candidates in the field. The questions asked whether the candidate would advocate and support legislation to provide a number of legislative amendments, including a minimum salary of \$750, and the inclusion of disciplinary powers within the Teachers' Federation Act. To the question about a minimum salary, the leaders of the Conservative, C.C.F., and Social

Credit parties answered, "Yes." The leader of the Liberal party, which was seeking re-election, said:

The Liberal party is in favor of a minimum salary on a schedule basis for our teachers. Such schedule will take into account experience, ability and academic qualifications. The conditions that have obtained in the province have made it impossible for the payment of anything like a reasonable minimum. With a return to more normal conditions the payment of a minimum salary of \$750.00 will be achieved as well as a graduated schedule that has regard to the services rendered, the ability and academic qualifications (72:5-6).

In the similar questionnaire submitted to candidates, favorable replies were received from eighteen who were elected, "exclusive of the cabinet ministers who, we assume, concurred in the replies submitted by the Premier" (72:7).

Working with trustees. From the beginning the Federation had despaired of negotiating directly with the school boards in any organized fashion because there were so many of them involved. There were more than twice as many school trustees in the province as there were teachers.

The obvious medium of contact between the Federation and the school trustees was the annual convention of the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association. However, reports of the 1936 trustees' convention indicate that trustees were not receptive to any suggestion of working with teachers. The S.T.F. secretary later reported:

Owing to the provocative nature of the notice sent out to the School Boards by the S.T.A.'s secretary and the presidential address, the delegates entered on the work of the convention in a spirit which was decidedly antagonistic to the teachers and to their federation. The convention decidedly turned down all suggestions which would commit them to the support and adoption of the Larger Unit

The trustees did not debate the scheme on the grounds of its effects on the boys and girls, but took rather the attitude they were opposed to it because the teachers supported it (107:1).

An observer at the convention who was not a teacher reported his impressions:

In the atmosphere created by the president's address, and the spirit in which many of the delegates came to the convention, it became impossible for the more serious-minded delegates to make any impression on the majority who were evidently bent on working out a grudge against the teachers (3:12).

Despite this rather unfavorable beginning, the Executives of the Trustees Association and the Teachers' Federation arranged to meet on May 30, 1936, along with representatives of the Roman Catholic Trustees' Association and the Franco-Canadien Trustees' Association, "for the purpose of discussing common reforms which are of vital importance to the educational well-being of the province" (33:5). The result of the meeting was that the organizations agreed unanimously that they would join together to "urge upon the government the necessity of appointing an independent commission to study the educational system of Saskatchewan with a view to correcting its evils" (34:6). A representative committee was selected and it met the provincial government on June 13th. During the two-hour meeting the teachers and trustees exhibited almost complete unanimity. The government refused the request for the establishment of an Education Commission, but it did agree to grant representation on the Tax Inquiry Commission that it was about to set up. The organizations selected C. E. Little, secretary of the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association, to be their representative on this Commission. Subsequently, the teacher and

trustee groups met again and prepared submissions to be presented jointly to the Commission. A majority of the proposals included in the submission were originated in the committee by the representatives of the S.T.F. (35:13-14).

At the same time as the teacher and trustee representatives were meeting to plan joint action at the provincial level, plans were completed for greater teacher-trustee co-operation at the local level. During the fall of 1936 nine of the thirty-nine inspectorates completed plans to hold conventions in association with the school trustees of the area and by the following year the practice had become even more widespread (58:8).

It was no doubt due largely to these co-operative efforts toward united action by trustees and teachers that the S.T.F. secretary found it possible to report to councillors on September 16, 1936 that "the bitter animosity that was evident a few months ago is being dissipated . . ." (89:2). When the trustees' convention was held in February, 1937, it was reported that:

Not a single word of criticism was directed against the S.T.F. and one may infer from this that either the policies which we have been pursuing meet with their approval or are unassailable Of particular interest to our low paid teachers was the resolution endorsing the principle of a minimum salary (37:11-12).

It would appear that the marked change in tone, as compared with the convention of the previous year, could be attributed to the better understanding on the part of both teachers and trustees of the aims and aspirations of their respective groups.

Presentations to commissions. As early as 1934 the Council had

empowered the Executive to institute proceedings to have "the affairs of the profession placed before a commission" (56:13). Accordingly, on November 30, 1935 the Federation requested the provincial government to establish a Royal Commission to study and to make recommendations on the finance and the administration of schools (73). This request was repeated on February 27, 1936 but was "refused on the grounds that no money was available for the commission in question" (107:2). A further request for a Royal Commission on May 16, 1936 was "refused on the grounds that a Cabinet Committee was being set up to investigate the whole field of taxation and until its investigations, which included taxation for educational purposes, were completed no further commission would be appointed" (107:2). It was to this committee--which finally became the Jacoby Taxation Commission--that the Federation co-operated with the trustees in naming a representative (the secretary of the Trustees Association) and in presenting a brief. For the teachers the findings of the Jacoby Commission were disappointing. It made no recommendations regarding the payment of teachers' salary arrears; it recommended against the immediate restoration of school grants to the 1931 level; and it recommended against the establishment of a minimum salary for teachers:

The province is financially unable to - and cannot equitably as a matter of principle - subsidize incomes of one occupation to the exclusion of the others, excepting where physical want makes such a policy necessary (91:1-2).

Moreover, although the teachers had confidently expected their jointly-named representative at least to submit a minority report, no such report was filed.

The Committee on School Administration (known as the Martin Committee) was appointed by the provincial government on July 12, 1938; its five members included Lorne F. Titus, president of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, and R. H. Heane of the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association. At the Committee's first session in Regina, held on August 30, 1938, an eight-man delegation from the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation presented a voluminous brief. Although it contained many recommendations, including one proposing a minimum salary of \$750, its central theme was the desirability and practicability of larger units of administration. On December 28th, during the annual Council meeting, the members of the Martin Committee met the Council and for five hours heard reports and received submissions from councillors representing every section of the province. The Committee's recommendations, released in 1939, contained little with respect to salaries that would assist the Federation towards its immediate goal:

The Committee is very favourably disposed towards the enactment of a minimum salary for teachers but feels that the present is not an opportune time. Any salary fixed at present would necessarily be inadequate when compared with the salaries paid in more prosperous times; and there would be the danger that when better times come, the low fixed minimum would to some extent operate as a maximum When the value of production makes it possible for the people to pay a reasonable local tax levy, the Legislature might then in justice set a reasonable minimum salary (25:30).

The representative commission, sought by the Federation for four years, had produced nothing specific to guarantee teachers a minimum level of remuneration.

The strike question. It was inevitable that teachers, who had

expected to take great strides forward through their membership in the S.T.F., would grow impatient and discontented with the repeated frustration of their efforts. Their anger and dismay were demonstrated in at least two ways: they began to criticize the leaders of the Federation, and they started to search for methods that would yield results.

By June, 1936 the S.T.F. Executive felt it necessary to reply to recent "frank criticism for what the officers of the Federation have not done"; the statement in answer to this criticism outlined the steps that had been taken to obtain the Federation's objectives, and concluded, "We cannot force a change of opinion; we can only persuade" (34:7). When the Council met in December, 1936 the view was expressed that ". . . the teachers feel that their leaders have glossed over the situation and live on hopes. Nothing effective has been done so far" (58:8). This feeling, though difficult to justify on logical grounds, persisted on the part of a number of teachers. Doubtless it was in part responsible for the defeat at the 1937 Council meeting of every incumbent Executive member who sought re-election, with the exception of the president (59).

It was also at the 1936 Council that the matter of a teachers' strike first received the attention of the Federation's policy-making body. Before that time S.T.F. statements and publications made only vague references to the possibility or desirability of strike action by teachers. Ever since the Saskatchewan Union of Teachers had found itself obliged to change its name, teachers had been wary of any activities too directly associated with unionism. In 1935 the editor of the Bulletin said:

We are not advocating teacher strikes. Such means cannot be employed by professional men and women without a loss of prestige and dignity . . . (31:4).

In its memorandum to the Premier and his cabinet in February, 1936 the Federation had made veiled reference to the possible consequences of government inaction:

Direct action and teacher strikes have been threatened in various places during the past year, as you know, and while the Executive would deplore such action on the part of any section of its members, it certainly might be unable to stop it (74:15).

During the ensuing months more inspectorate associations began considering the possibility of a strike. After investigating conditions in the southern part of the province the S.T.F. secretary reported:

. . . so serious had the situation become that no less than nine inspectorate conventions voted in favor of a strike as a last desperate resort to force the authorities to remedy conditions which had become intolerable both for the teachers and the pupils (107:6).

Realizing that the matter of teachers' strikes would be dealt with at the forthcoming Council meeting, and recognizing the explosive nature of the issue both within and outside the Federation, the secretary wrote to all councillors on December 7, 1936, drawing to their attention certain implications of the debate they would be staging during the widely-publicized sessions:

If the advocates of a strike should demand a vote on the issue, we are afraid it would be defeated. If the conference entered into an acrimonious discussion, if a division of opinion among the councillors was evidenced, much of the excellent effects would be lost. The threat of a provincial-wide strike has had the effect of centering public attention on the deplorable state of affairs which exists in the profession. Public opinion is on the side of the teachers . . .

/The political parties/ have accepted the major educational reforms advocated by us. Various associations, including

the U.F.C., the I.O.D.E., and even the Trustees' Associations are giving us their support. A declaration of policy favoring a strike would jeopardize the support of the aforementioned--we are all too familiar with the history of strikes in this Province and in the Dominion. If, on the other hand, the conference declared against a strike, the S.T.F. would be deprived of an effective weapon in forcing the Legislature to grant the remedial measures which we have consistently pressed for (90:1-2).

When the Council meeting was convened the councillors debated the issue vigorously, examining the various points in considerable detail. Their conclusion was that further action on the strike should be delayed until after the 1937 session of the legislature. In effect, their decision was to gamble that the threat of a possible province-wide strike of teachers would cause the government to act. But the government did not act. When the 1937 session was over and the desired statutory minimum had not been legislated, the councillors were asked whether it was their wish to have an emergency meeting of the Council convened to give further consideration to the possibility of a strike. Apparently dismayed by such factors as "the possibility of conducting a successful strike under our present faulty local organization, the number of teachers who would 'walk out', and the fact that our Federation Act provides no disciplinary powers," the councillors by June 12th had voted twenty-four to eight against holding a special meeting of Council (92:2; 93:1). The official policy of the Federation remained one of being "opposed to direct action as a means of seeking redress" (108:2).

The stand of the S.T.F. on strike action failed to satisfy a number of the inspectorate associations in which the teachers were both more aggressive and more destitute. The year 1938 had brought no

amelioration of the teachers' hardship and the fall conventions provided the opportunity to register protests:

As recently as October 7, 1938, the teachers of the inspectorate in convention at Arcola passed a resolution favouring a strike one month after the close of the next Session of the Legislature if a minimum salary of \$750 is not fixed, guaranteed by the Province.

. . . The teachers in convention at Carnduff on October 11 passed a resolution to the effect that, if salaries for August and September were not paid by November 19, they would again assemble and consider the advisability of a strike (25:18).

A definite stand on the question of strike action could no longer be forestalled by the Federation. At the 1938 Council the following motion was introduced:

. . . BE IT RESOLVED that we instruct the Executive to set up the machinery to implement the policy of direct action provided that all other means of obtaining remedial measures fail.

After an intense discussion a standing vote of the councillors was called. Sixteen voted for, twenty-five against; the resolution was declared lost (60:15).

At the fall conventions in 1939 teachers were asked to vote on the question of direct strike action. It was defeated, as it had been at the 1938 Council (61:9). The advocates of the strike were not without considerable support, however. The matter was raised again at the 1939 Council meeting in December, during a meeting of committee of the whole. When two councillors introduced the following motion,

That this Committee recommend to Council the acceptance of the method of direct action as a legitimate means of securing necessary reforms (61:10)

the motion was tabled. The following day in the final Council session

it was lifted from the table, put to a vote, and carried. In the interval, however, the Council had approved a different plan of action that was to be the backbone of the 1939-40 campaign for a minimum salary. Thus the Council's action was one of approving the principle of strike action but excluding it from its immediate plans. A second resolution was passed to specify the conditions in which strike action might be taken:

That this Council instruct the Executive to set up machinery to enable any inspectoral unit to undertake direct action with the consent of the S.T.F. Executive and its support; that the teachers of any inspectoral unit employing direct action be granted assistance outlined in the Report of the Salary Schedule Committee, Provided that two-thirds of the active teachers in the inspectorate signify by a recorded statement their intention to employ and adhere to direct action (61:21).

The Federation's new policy of supporting strike action under certain circumstances was to be used only sparingly in the years ahead. An eight-day strike occurred in Moose Jaw in 1942 (43:38). The only subsequent teacher strike occurred in Regina in 1964 (51:1).

Toward collective action. Something had to be done. For five years a disproportionate amount of the activity within the Federation had been carried on by the Council, the Executive and the Central Office, with the majority of teachers giving varying degrees of passive support. On the other hand, it was evident that the idea of a blatant and forthright provincial strike, if it evoked a major division among councillors, would assuredly fail to receive undivided support among the teachers.

The first intimation of a move that would succeed in actively

involving all teachers and at the same time avoid the unfortunate connotations of a strike was a resolution presented to the 1938 Council:²

BE IT RESOLVED: That the Executive of the S.T.F. interest all conventions in binding themselves collectively and individually not to apply for a position in any school which, in the opinion of the S.T.F. is not giving the teacher just treatment or adequate salary (60:17).

The resolution was adopted on a vote of twenty-nine to ten. Within three months a plan had been conceived that would focus public attention less upon the action of the teacher and more upon the inadequacy of the position.

The Campaign of 1939-40

Although it had been foreshadowed by the Martin Committee Report, the failure of the government to introduce minimum salary legislation at the 1939 session of the legislature was another disappointment to the Federation. Following the session, the Executive met and approved a plan designed to influence salary levels without the aid of the government.

The trial run. On May 8, 1939 the Executive passed the following resolution:

That the Executive advocate and endorse a self-imposed minimum salary of \$600 for normal graduates and \$700 for experienced teachers to become effective July 1, 1939; and that a statement of this resolution be published in the May number of the Bulletin, together with a plea to the members of

²It is interesting and perhaps significant that the motion was moved by W. S. Lloyd and seconded by G. D. Eamer. Within two years they were to become respectively the president and the general secretary of the S.T.F.

the S.T.F. to carry out the policy of the Executive with respect to the forementioned (40:4).

Time was short, for teachers under contract wishing to comply with the new policy had to negotiate a new contract before May 31st. Many teachers conscientiously adhered to the policy, but with varying results. A great number were successful in negotiating an increased salary, although not in all cases sufficient to reach the prescribed minimum. Others had resigned from their positions and had been replaced by teachers offering to teach for less. The Executive concluded that, in general, the results of the experiment had been gratifying. Teachers had, for the first time in the province, made a concerted effort to do something on their own behalf. Those who had worked as a group in their locals and in graded schools "had learned the value of collective bargaining and the necessity for well-informed and skilled negotiating committees" (41:4).

A plan of action. The first attempt at employing a self-imposed minimum had had two main limitations: some teachers did not adhere to the minimum, and there was no provision made for those who suffered as a result of their adherence to it. Encouraged by the limited success of the trial run, and determined to improve the effectiveness of the new device, the Executive and its advisory committee on salaries developed a full-blown plan of action for the 1939-40 academic year.

The objective of the plan was to secure a legislated minimum salary of \$750 per annum, with a minimum of \$1,000 per annum for teachers in charge of classrooms receiving the high school grant. If such minima were not legislated, a self-imposed minimum would be in-

stituted. The procedure for implementing the self-imposed minimum would include the following steps:

1. At the fall conventions teachers would be asked to sign pledges stating that (a) they would not teach in any school in Saskatchewan after June 30, 1940 at a salary lower than \$700 per annum; and (b) they would, if employed, contribute financial assistance to teachers who were temporarily unemployed as a result of having adhered to this pledge.³

2. The pledges would not be declared effective by the S.T.F. Executive until at least seventy-five per cent of teachers receiving under \$700 per annum had signed them (41:5).

3. Any teacher who lost his position because of his adherence to the pledge would be given (a) every assistance by the S.T.F. to secure another school, and (b) financial assistance, at least equivalent to the provincial relief schedule.

4. A salary campaign trust fund would be inaugurated, to receive suggested voluntary contributions of one per cent of salary from employed teachers, such contributions to be solicited "as soon as it becomes evident that legislation to provide for a minimum salary is not forthcoming" (61:8).

That a minimum salary of \$750 or \$700 was of personal significance to the individual teacher is illustrated by the fact that in the 1938-39 school year 6,587 teachers of a total of 8,628 under contract had been engaged for \$700 or less (80).

³See Appendix C.

A special effort was made in the magazine and in addresses by officers to emphasize that the teachers would not be conducting a strike. The president used this illustration:

I recently read an editorial which originated in a Lethbridge paper condemning the action of Saskatchewan teachers in this matter and linking it up with strikes. Talk of teacher strikes, it intimated, was to be deprecated at this time . . . There is no suggestion of strike or similarity to strike in the plan. We simply place a fair minimum value on our services. If you want them, you will pay for them. To make the matter clear, I will make an offer to the Lethbridge newspaper. They are publishers; we publish a magazine. It is distributed six times a year to 8,000 people. We offer to give them the printing contract for 50 cents per page.

Of course, their service is worth more than 50 cents per page, so they will refuse the contract. Are they not in the same position as the teacher who, when offered less than his services are worth, refuses the contract? (111:6).

The plan was a bold one. Even the eight members of the Executive were not unanimous; one of them had opposed the motion adopting the first pledge (the minimum), and two had opposed the motion adopting the second pledge (financial assistance) (69:7). What gave the plan most of its impetus was the reaction of teachers at fall conventions. The first tabulation of results indicated that of 5,189 teachers attending conventions, 4,438 had signed the first pledge promising not to teach for less than \$700, and 4,116 had signed the second pledge promising financial support to other teachers. Only 370 had rejected the pledges by so indicating on the reverse side (42:22). The next step was to obtain returns from teachers who had not attended the conventions, from those who had attended but had not voted, and from the conventions that had not yet reported. When the canvassing was completed, more than 6,000 had signed the \$700 minimum pledge and almost

as many had agreed to make financial contributions to the trust fund (101:7).

Were the pledges merely an empty threat, a bluff like the mooted province-wide strike of 1937 had turned out to be? W. S. Lloyd, then an Executive member and vice-president of the Federation, says it was not:

I can remember literally shaking in my shoes as to what we were going to have to do if we went through with it Certainly I'd say there would be nobody in the Executive group that was taking it as a bluff. We meant it. We knew we would have mighty little to go on by way of financial support or anything like this, but, no, it was meant! (18).

J. H. Sturdy, then secretary of the Federation, agrees:

We were completely serious about it It wasn't popular with all our teachers. It wasn't popular with all our Executive. But it went ahead nonetheless. And it was so terrifically and overwhelmingly endorsed out in the inspectorates that we all had to take cognizance of it. And even we were persuaded that the teachers meant business at last! . . . I don't give the Executive credit for it particularly. It was the teachers themselves who were shoving (106).

The first part of the plan--what action to take if legislation was not forthcoming--was underway. The second part of the plan was directed at the legislature itself.

The minimum salary campaign. At its meeting on December 30, 1939 the Executive approved recommendations that would accomplish two ends: centralized control and membership involvement. It was agreed that a salary campaign committee of five persons, centered in Saskatoon for quick and frequent meetings, would be set up to direct the campaign for a statutory minimum salary as well as the steps in establishing a self-imposed minimum. In respect to the latter, the committee was to

be responsible for securing a complete return of pledges, for directing strategy, for securing money, for arranging publicity, and for seeking the co-operation of other groups. The Executive also recommended to the salary campaign committee a series of steps to involve teachers at all levels and in all areas of the province, and to seek the support of such organizations as the United Farmers of Canada, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, and the Young Men's Section of the Board of Trade (70:5-6).

The campaign was launched on January 5, 1940. On that date a letter was sent to the secretary of every school board in the province, advising that teachers would not be available after June 30th at salaries below \$700 and that school requisitions to municipalities should be determined with this fact in mind (2).

On January 12th a letter to all councillors outlined the details of the campaign. It also requested every councillor to interview personally the Member of the Legislative Assembly for his area, or to arrange for a local committee to do so, and to arrange for petitions to be forwarded to the M.L.A. by all teachers and by ratepayers in his inspectorate (95:1-2). In addition to signing the petition, every teacher was to be encouraged to write a letter to the M.L.A., reiterating his support for a minimum salary "with such additions as may apply to the writer's individual case or that of the district in which he is employed; i.e., salary received, number of dependents, cost of living (board, etc.), length of teaching service, necessity to improve academic or professional standard, assessment of district and mill-rate of taxation for educational purposes, ability of district to pay

higher salaries, impossibility of continuing in the profession at the present rate of salary, etc." (95:2). As an encouragement to other teacher groups it was pointed out that petitions signed by all the teachers in Saskatoon (city teachers, none of whom would profit directly from the proposed minimum) were being presented to the three M.L.A.'s resident in that city.

On January 15th a letter was sent to the principals of all schools with two or more rooms, containing copies of petitions and requesting the principals to assume responsibility for seeing that teachers in their areas signed the petitions and wrote to their M.L.A. The petitions were to be collected, and forwarded to the councillor and thence to Regina before February 5th. The letter added, "The Federation looks to the principals of our urban schools to provide leadership in their respective areas. Rural teachers, whose lot we are all most anxious to improve, live segregated, isolated lives as far as association with their colleagues is concerned. They, too, look to you for initiative and help" (105). Also on January 15th a letter to councillors sought to provide reinforcement for the request to principals: "As you undoubtedly know all the principals of your inspectorate personally, the Committee asks you to write to them with the request that they carry out the instructions contained in the letter from Central Office" (96).

The next day--on January 16th--a four-page letter was sent to every M.L.A., requesting his support for the minimum that had been promised prior to the 1938 election by both the parties now represented in the legislature, and outlining in great detail the facts and argu-

ments to support the minimum requested (103).

In the next letter to councillors, mailed on January 29th, the secretary announced that "over 7,000 letters have gone out from Central Office since January 1 to school boards, Members of the Legislative Assembly, organizations, principals of schools, councillors, individuals, etc." (98). It also provided the councillor with a check-list of actions he should have taken or should be taking, and requested an indication of the reaction of the M.L.A. during the interview, and an opinion as to whether the M.L.A. should be interviewed again. A committee of teachers had been set up in Regina to interview Members of the Legislative Assembly who were reported 'doubtful' or 'opposed.' Reports from the first fourteen councillors replying to Central Office stated that seven government and six opposition M.L.A.'s "have promised their support in caucus and on the floor of the Legislature" (99).

On February 10th the Executive met the Premier and his cabinet. It was the second formal meeting in less than five months. The Executive reviewed the history of the Federation's requests for a statutory minimum as well as the replies and the promises the government had given in previous years, and concluded with a plea that the requested minimum be no longer delayed (76).

Two days later the secretary wrote the following report to the councillors:

. . . We have the assurance that our request will be discussed fully in caucus and if favorably received there, it will be taken to the Legislature. Reports of 39 interviews with M.L.A.'s have been received at the Office. These include 27 Liberals. Twenty-one of the latter were reported favorable so we have every reason to believe that our request will be favorably considered in caucus (100).

The next occasion for action was the trustees' convention. A month earlier the councillors and locals had been asked to render whatever assistance they could:

Practically the only opposition to a statutory minimum salary comes from a limited but vociferous number of trustees. These will undoubtedly attend the Trustees' Convention to be held in Regina on February 14th, 15th and 16th. In this connection would it be possible for you to persuade and have your locals persuade trustees who are favorable to educational reform to attend the Convention (97).

In a letter to the members of the Executive the secretary gave some of his impressions of the trustees' convention:

If we are successful in securing a statutory minimum salary, we must give credit to our self-imposed minimum salary policy. If the following statement was made once, it was made 20 times at the Trustees' Convention: "The teachers aren't going to teach at a salary below \$700 after June 30th." I am pleased to state that the attitude of the Trustees' Convention to our organization this year was one of respect rather than animosity. This is summed up in the following press dispatch: "A suggestion that a committee of trustees meet with a committee of teachers was made by several delegates, most of whom dealt with the strong feeling said to be existing among the teachers regarding strikes. They generally decided extreme caution must be exercised as the teachers are so strongly organized . . ." (102).

A second letter to each M.L.A. was mailed on February 22nd. Because it was not being mentioned by M.L.A.'s during interviews, the special \$1,000 minimum for secondary school teachers was given added emphasis in this letter (104).

On March 1st the Minister of Education announced that amendments to the School Act would be introduced in the legislature to provide for a minimum salary for teachers of \$700 per year; the amendment would become effective on January 1, 1941.

As far as the S.T.F. was concerned the proposed legislation had three faults: the effective date was not July 1, 1940, the minimum was

not \$750, and no provision was made for a high school minimum of \$1,000.

To overcome some of the inadequacies of the proposed legislation a final effort was initiated. Each councillor was requested to write on behalf of his teachers to M.L.A.'s whose constituencies lay partially or wholly within his inspectorate. On March 2nd the president and the secretary of the Federation went again to Regina to interview the Minister of Education. In addition, they interviewed other M.L.A.'s, including at least one other cabinet minister, and received "a definite understanding that a resolution would be introduced in the Legislature if the Minister refused to bring it in to move the date forward to July 1st" (79:1).

On March 5th the Minister announced that the date on which the \$700 minimum would become operative would be moved forward to July 1st. Eleven days later the amendment received third reading and was passed unanimously. An attempt by the Opposition to increase the minimum to \$750 and to provide a special high school minimum of \$1,000 had been defeated (79:2).

Toward Collective Bargaining

A salary standards board. It was at an Executive meeting on September 2, 1939 that official approval was first given by the Federation to the concept of collective bargaining. A report by the advisory committee on salary schedules, adopted by the Executive at that meeting, was the culmination of an exhaustive year-long investigation by the committee into salary determination, employer-employee relationships, and conciliation, arbitration and strike machinery in every

country in the western world. The committee's report began by subscribing to the principles underlying the Industrial Disputes Act, which had been passed by the Canadian Parliament and which had been made fully operative in Saskatchewan by the provincial legislature.

These principles were:

- (1) That disputes between employers and employees should be settled by the parties involved.
- (2) That the government provide the machinery for the settlement of disputes but is not otherwise involved except as a conciliator.
- (3) That once a decision or arbitration has been arrived at by a board, such decision or arbitration is not binding upon the parties to the dispute unless this has been previously agreed upon. But in case either party to the dispute refuses to accept the decision or arbitration, the other party has an informed public opinion to support its claims. In nearly all cases, that has been enough to settle the dispute without recourse to more drastic action.

Another and more general principle, but one that has been sadly lacking outside of the cities in trustee-teacher disputes, is that of collective bargaining /emphasis added/ (69:14).

The suggested plan was to establish two kinds of committee: a provincial salary standards board, and inspectorate negotiating committees. The former would consist of eleven members: five appointed by the Federation, five by the Trustees Associations, and a chairman appointed by the other ten. The salary standards board would be expected to produce an equitable salary schedule for Saskatchewan teachers, based on such factors as ability to pay, cost of living, nature of the service rendered, professional needs of teachers, teaching experience, and qualifications. It would be a permanent board, and would be expected to revise its salary schedule as conditions would warrant. The second kind of committee--an inspectorate negotiating committee--would be set up in each inspectorate and would include representatives of

both teachers and trustees. The duties of this committee would be to assist the provincial board and to implement its finding. If the provincial salary standards board were unable to reach an agreement the matter would be referred to a Board of Conciliation established under the Industrial Disputes Act, or arbitrated in some other manner. If an inspectorate negotiating committee could not reach agreement, its dispute would be referred to the provincial board (69:13-14).

On September 30, 1939, the new plan was presented to the provincial cabinet with the request that a salary standards board "be set up under government authority to handle the problems connected with establishment of salary scales and difficulties in salary negotiations" (75:2).

That the Premier was not especially receptive to the idea is shown in his comments after the brief had been presented:

Premier: It would be rather interesting to know what category you are trying to get the teachers into. There are three ways I know of setting salaries. One is the Minimum Wage Board. That applies to lower classes of people--clerks in stores and waitresses in restaurants, and so on. Then there is collective bargaining, where a small group of employees negotiate for all the employees, and the individual employee has little to say about it. The third way is to have individual bargaining. Now your way seems to incorporate all three of these, and I do not think that is practicable.

Mr. Titus: No, that is not quite the picture. In the first instance we want to put the teachers in the first category.

Premier: That is, the minimum wage.

Mr. Titus: And the other is, let the law of supply and demand work.

Premier: The minimum wage recognizes two things: the wage for a probationary period, and then a wage after the probationary period. But there is nothing for experience after getting past the probationary basis. If you want on a union basis, if say, you belonged to the Miners' Union down here, whether you were two years or twelve years at

the job, you get the same rate of pay for the same job. That is when wages are negotiated by a union by collective bargaining. All I suggest is that the teachers keep this in mind when suggesting these different things and see where they are heading (5:13-14).

The Federation declined to take the Premier's advice. At the meeting of the Council in December, 1940 resolutions were adopted "that we press for collective bargaining: (a) A Provincial Salary Standards Board (b) Inspectorate Negotiating Committees" and that the Federation "conduct a campaign to make teaching bodies and public salary schedule conscious" (62:13).

Building co-operative relations. During the next four years very little tangible progress was made by the Federation toward its goal of collective bargaining. The main obstacle continued to be the multitude of small school districts, most of which employed only one teacher. An Act to permit the establishment of school divisions was passed by the legislature, but it required local ratepayers to take the initiative, and not one division was established. Another factor that made the war years the waiting years was that many of the key men who had provided local leadership in the Federation had enlisted in the Armed Forces. The Federation was also handicapped by inadequate finances. Although the teachers of the province had twice voted by an overwhelming majority that S.T.F. fees be doubled, no action was taken by the government to amend the Teachers' Federation Act (63:7). Still another factor was identified by the S.T.F. secretary:

You will realize that under the stress of war and the acute international situation it is almost impossible to move as quickly as we would like in the way of educational reform and although your provincial organization has not let up

in its demands for educational changes, we do feel that the tempo in this regard will be decidedly slower (13).

He went on to urge that desired reforms "be fully discussed and the groundwork carefully laid, and above all the teachers must make the public conscious of the need for reform" (13).

The person who appears to have taken the lead in developing this kind of preparatory programme was the Federation president from 1941 through 1944, Woodrow Lloyd. His first statement to teachers indicated that he viewed the concept of collective bargaining in its broadest sense:

Our aim is a bargaining committee--made up of teachers and trustees--in each superintendency. This committee would consider all teacher-trustee problems--including that of settling the rate of salary (21:3).

In his address to the Council he stressed the need for developing strong relationships with other groups in society:

. . . From all these organizations we have had assurances of genuine interest and co-operation in many if not all of our policies. However this interest and co-operation needs considerable fostering and stimulation I have said many times that the problems of education must not be considered the problems of teachers and trustees alone--they are the problems of every thinking citizen. I have advocated many times that perhaps the greatest contribution which we can make to education is the stimulation of public interest (19:1).

The following year the president stated his views on the way in which collective bargaining might be introduced:

The difficulties of negotiating satisfactory salary scales on the basis of the present small units are freely admitted. The larger unit would permit of collective bargaining and greatly facilitate the procedure. Under either system it seems fair to suggest that the School Act be amended requiring each employing board to maintain a salary schedule and that guidance be given as to amounts by a central, representative committee. Under either system it seems

fair to suggest that there should be some conciliation machinery by means of which individual teachers, or groups of teachers, and trustees could arrive at an agreement somewhat in keeping with the requisites of the situation (20:2).

The significance of these statements lies only partly in the fact that Lloyd was speaking for himself and on behalf of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. What is perhaps of greater significance is that he would, within six months of his having stated these latter views, be elected to the legislature and appointed Minister of Education--a post he would continue to hold for sixteen years. It was during these years that the Minister of Education took a lead in encouraging joint teacher-trustee efforts to develop and accept collective bargaining procedures.⁴

Three major projects were launched for the purpose of building co-operation and co-operative relations with other groups. The first of these was the Federation's sponsoring of the Saskatchewan Education Conference. Initiated as the result of Lloyd's suggestion to the 1941 Council, the first conference was held on November 21, 1942. For more than a decade conferences were held twice a year, and a permanent conference organization was established. Its aims were to promote study and discussion of education in Saskatchewan, to develop an intelligent and informed public opinion concerning educational matters, to develop better understanding among the member organizations, and to secure action if it appeared to be required (81:24-25). When the seventh Education Conference was held in November, 1945, there were "delegates

⁴See below, pages 124-132.

from 42 Provincial organizations present to take part in the deliberations" (46:6).

The second project conceived within the Federation and urged upon the government was the establishment of a consultative committee, with representatives from the Department of Education, the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association, and the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation-- "the three bodies chiefly interested" in education (44:54). Such a committee would be expected to consider educational problems and to make appropriate recommendations, which "should be implemented by the government as expeditiously as possible" (44:54).

The third project to promote co-operative relationships had its beginning in March, 1946. At that time the Federation became a charter member of the Saskatchewan Occupational Group Council. This organization, including representatives from farmers' groups, labor unions and the teachers' organization, was formed for three purposes:

1. To act as a clearing house for the opinions, plans, and actions of the groups which comprise it, in so far as these opinions, plans, and actions have any bearing upon the respective groups.
2. To disseminate among our respective members such information as may be vital in assisting all of us to come to a better understanding of each other's problems.
3. To present a united front where we are threatened by other forces (81:25-26).

Apart from fostering mutual understanding with other groups, which was related to collective bargaining only indirectly, the activities of the Federation in salary determination between 1940 and 1944 were for the most part restricted to the preparation of salary schedule guides to assist teachers in their individual bargaining, and to the establishment of salary schedules in some of the urban areas

of the province.

The 1944 election. In the provincial election held in June, 1944 the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation obtained a landslide victory. The results of the balloting gave the C.C.F. forty-seven seats, the Liberals five, and the Active Service Voters' Representatives three (113:255). Teachers were hopeful that the new government would be prepared to look with favor upon many of their legislative proposals. In addition to having campaigned on a programme of numerous changes in education, the C.C.F. government had among its cabinet ministers three who had been active in the work of the S.T.F.: the Honorable W. S. Lloyd, Minister of Education and immediate past president of the Federation; the Honorable J. H. Sturdy, Minister of Reconstruction and secretary of the Federation from 1936 to 1940; and the Honorable C. M. Fines, Provincial Treasurer and a past president of the Regina Local of the S.T.F.⁵

The new government immediately began to implement a series of changes in education. By far the most basic and pervasive of these was the establishment of larger school units. By December, 1944 fourteen units were in operation and by 1946 a total of forty-five units--three-quarters of the province--had been established (24:64). When a petition resulted in a vote having to be taken on the estab-

⁵ A report to teachers on the meeting of the S.T.F. Executive with the Cabinet on September 9, 1944 included the comment: "The reception accorded by the Cabinet was most cordial and encouraging. In fact there were occasions when even the Premier seemed to be in some doubt as to just who were Cabinet members and who were S.T.F. executive members" (45:32).

lishment of several of the units, teachers in the local areas, with the assistance of the Federation, took a lead in organizing the campaign in favor of the larger unit of administration. Other legislation enacted at the fall session of the legislature in 1944 included the provision of a statutory minimum salary of \$1,200 for teachers with permanent certificates (\$1,000 for others), and the doubling of the S.T.F. fee to 1/250ths of the contract salary. Provision was later made to empower the S.T.F. Council, rather than the legislature, to determine changes in the Federation fees.

Voluntary collective bargaining. In a submission to the provincial government on January 27, 1945 the Federation requested "the setting up of a provincial salary schedule commission whose personnel should include representatives of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, the Trustees Association, Organized Labor, with a chairman from the Department of Education." This commission would be expected to draw up a salary schedule "which would be ready to put into effect upon the completion of the setting up of the Larger Units" (54:4-5). The Minister of Education was one who preferred to induce voluntary co-operation rather than to legislate rigid decisions. Only the month before, he had said to the S.T.F. Council, "A salary schedule will be developed after Larger Units are organized When you get a set-up where you can have collective bargaining, then you can establish these things much more satisfactorily than they can be settled by legislation" (65:7, 9). Instead of introducing legislation to establish a permanent salary commission, he arranged for a representative from

the Teachers' Federation and from the Trustees Association to meet with the registrar from his Department. This three-member committee began a study of salaries and schedules, and by May 28, 1945 was able to publish a salary schedule, approved by the three organizations represented on the committee, and intended to be applicable to rural and village teachers. It was a voluntary schedule; teachers were urged "to enter into immediate negotiations with their respective school boards with a view to adopting it for the coming year" (6).

At the end of the war the educational system experienced considerable disruption and unrest. R. J. Davidson, the Departmental representative on the provincial salary committee, later recalled the work of the committee and the conditions under which it operated in these words:

At that time the committee attempted to set out a reasonable salary schedule which would be a guide to school boards throughout the Province. Before this was done we had a chaotic condition concerning salaries. Teachers who entered into contracts in May in 1945 found that by August or September salaries based on comparable qualifications and experience had risen several hundred dollars. The situation was very bad (9:4).

The uncertainty of employment conditions, the wide fluctuations in salaries being offered, and perhaps the fact that many had only a limited commitment to the profession⁶ led a considerable number of teachers to improve their circumstances by 'contract jumping.' In the view of the S.T.F., school trustees were apparently more anxious to deal with the symptom than with the cause. At their 1945 annual

⁶ In 1945-46 twenty-three per cent of the teachers under contract in Saskatchewan held only temporary certificates (24:69).

convention they resolved "that the form of agreement between school boards and teachers, be amended so as to make any demand for an increase of salary during the school year a breach of contract subjecting the teacher to disciplinary action" (84:8).

Teachers had always been interested in having their salaries paid by the provincial government. As early as 1922 the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance was advocating the "placing of teachers on civil service receiving salary direct from Government as is done in Scotland and Australia" (53:4). In 1939 the president of the S.T.F. had said to the provincial Cabinet, "A schedule adopted by the province and enforced by the province is what is, in our minds, the ideal" (5:11). It was about the time of the 1945 Council that questions first began to be raised about the ultimate need for or the desirability of having salaries determined at the provincial level. The Salary Schedule Report to that Council stated in part:

. . . the rapid establishment of the Larger Units to embrace the entire province lessened the immediate need of compulsion /regarding the implementation of the provincial committee's schedule/ inasmuch as it was recognized that a negotiated salary schedule was to be a very important part of the policy governing each Larger Unit (7:1).

At the same meeting the Minister of Education said:

I think all of us need to do a lot of pretty severe thinking on that--whether we want a provincial salary schedule or a unit salary schedule We are willing to experiment, and it needs a lot of thinking yet (66:12).

By February, 1946 the provincial salary committee had issued a schedule for towns and small cities (47:55-56). Like the previous schedule, it was voluntary, and teachers and school boards were requested to negotiate using it as a guide. A letter to this effect was signed by the

Minister of Education, the president of the Trustees Association, and the president of the Teachers' Federation, and was distributed to boards throughout the province (48:2).

In March, 1946 the S.T.F. directed three requests to the provincial government: that the Federation be granted disciplinary powers to deal with instances of unprofessional conduct on the part of teachers; that a provincial arbitration board be established to function when a superintendency salary negotiating committee fails to reach an agreement; and that teachers and school boards be included in the Industrial and Conciliation Act under the Department of Labor for the purpose of compulsory negotiation of salary schedules (82:2; 55:3-4).

By the end of 1946, salary schedules were in effect in all the existing larger units. The Federation's main objection to these was that "very few of the schedules have been negotiated with teacher representatives but have been imposed upon teachers by the unit board" (49:2). One councillor reported:

The Unit where I am . . . set up a salary schedule and in attempts to hold a teacher have broken the schedule. You get quite a bad feeling of morale because you end up with teachers who have not worked at the same school getting more salary than those who have stayed with the Unit (67:6).

Again the Minister of Education chose an attempt at an informal arrangement in preference to legislation. At a meeting on September 28, 1946, chaired by the Minister and attended by representatives of the teachers' and trustees' organizations, a procedure for negotiating salaries was developed and unanimously accepted. It stated:

1. That either party has the right to ask for the setting

up of a salary schedule or for the review of an existing salary schedule.

2. That a negotiating committee be set up within the Unit having an equal number of representatives of teachers and trustees. It would be the work of this committee to study and to try to reach an agreement

3. If there are points on which the negotiating committee could not agree, these points of differences should be referred to a Unit Arbitration Board composed of three members - a teacher appointee, a trustee appointee, and a chairman agreeable to both.

4. Providing that the decision of the Unit Arbitration Board was not acceptable to either party, the matter under dispute should be referred to the Provincial Arbitration Board composed of three members, one appointed by the Trustees' Association, one appointed by the Teachers' Federation, and a chairman to be appointed by the two representatives mentioned above (14:2).

Although salary schedules recommended by the provincial salary committee would continue to be available for guidance, the onus for negotiating acceptable agreements was placed on teachers and trustees at the local level.

In December, 1946 the S.T.F. Council made a decision that would come to play an important part in the actions that teachers would take in the event of a salary dispute. This decision, an extension of the policy adopted in 1938, was to urge teachers "not to apply for positions which are made vacant by salary disputes" (67:48). The first application of this 1946 resolution occurred six weeks later.

The Kamsack dispute. In January, 1947 the ten teachers of the Kamsack public school staff attempted to negotiate a salary schedule. The board stated that it had unilaterally adopted a salary schedule. The teachers were willing to accept the board's schedule, but the board refused to include the schedule in the teachers' contracts. The board's secretary demanded that the teachers return the contracts at

once, duly signed. At the end of the month the teachers were asked to advise the board chairman in person whether they wanted to receive their January cheques on the basis of their old contracts or to wait until the matter had been dealt with further at the next board meeting. The teachers construed this to be a deliberate attempt to circumvent their negotiating committee and to embarrass them financially. The teachers attended the next board meeting but when they knocked on the meeting-room door were curtly told to come back in five minutes; they waited in the hallway for over thirty minutes before being admitted. By February 6th the teachers had received neither their January cheques nor agreement that the schedule would be written into their contracts. They all resigned.

At this point the Federation took three steps. It sent the teachers money to assist them until they were able to obtain their salary cheques. It issued a press release stating that teachers were not to negotiate or enter into contract with the Kamsack board until they first received S.T.F. approval. And it despatched its general secretary to Kamsack to assist the teachers in their dispute with the board.

Two days of meetings between the Federation secretary, representing the teachers, and the board brought about a settlement. The terms of settlement included a provision that no discriminatory action would be taken in the future by the board against any member of the staff by reason of the dispute; that the board would apologize for its discourteous treatment of the teachers; that the salary cheques would

be issued forthwith at the new rate; and that the schedule would be included in the teachers' contracts (50:5-6). As soon as the settlement was reached, teachers in the province were notified that they were again free to accept employment in Kamsack.

The dispute in Kamsack was but one illustration of the apparent reluctance on the part of school boards to accept the concept of negotiation with their teachers. A report to councillors commented on this reluctance:

. . . the whole tradition of teacher salaries has been a board decision, and boards have not yet come to realize that there is a new employee-employer relationship and that the employee should have some say in the determining of salaries (71:1).

The attitude of many school boards was illustrated by the comment made by one board secretary: ". . . a school board should be free to offer any increase in salary they thought fitting to induce a teacher to remain" (85:25).

Negotiated salary schedules. By the time of the Council meeting in December, 1947 the secretary found it possible to report that almost every salary schedule in effect in the larger units of administration had been negotiated with the teachers, not merely determined unilaterally by a decision of the board (15:2). At the same Council meeting the Minister of Education made reference to three significant points regarding collective bargaining: first, that in the short space of three years, three-quarters of the rural teachers had attained some kind of salary schedule; second, that a series of joint zone meetings, attended by teachers and trustees and chaired by him-

self, had added much to existing relationships by "pooling our ideas" and "learning from each other"; and third, that collective bargaining is "a rather far-reaching process":

Primarily, possibly it might be a matter for determining salaries but I hope we don't forget that there is a purpose in addition to just the determination of salaries I would like to think that here is an opportunity for developing an intelligent partnership in solving the problems of education (16:3-4).

Three other items of significance emerged at the 1947 Council. One was a statement by the chairman of the S.T.F. salary committee:

"Believe it or not, at the outset one of the biggest problems we had was to sell the principle /of collective bargaining/ to our teachers" (68:26). Another item was the evidence of some conflict between the provincial salary committee and local negotiating committees; misunderstandings had occurred locally over what the report from the provincial committee really meant (68:30); and some locals were completely dissatisfied with the bargain made by their representatives on the provincial committee (11). The other item of significance was the decision of the councillors to adopt a policy bulletin outlining in detail the Federation's stand on salaries. The major points of emphasis were the principles of negotiation and salary schedules. Whether the negotiation would take place locally or provincially was not mentioned (77).

A guide salary schedule, unanimously agreed upon, was again issued by the provincial salary committee in February, 1948. In previous years the trustees' and teachers' representatives on the provincial committee had always used their influence to persuade their

local groups to accept the provincial recommendation.⁷ However, one month after the agreement reached by the provincial committee in 1948, the larger units section at the trustees' convention, the chairman of which was a member of the provincial salary committee, decided in a closed meeting to reject the provincial recommendation (12:1). This incident appeared to reinforce the apprehension that the teachers had begun to feel the previous year. In the 1947 provincial salary meeting they had found that "the trustees were asking us to accept a salary schedule applicable to the whole province on the basis of what the least Unit was prepared to pay" (10:1). Trustees were anxious to prevent unit boards from bidding against one another for the limited supply of teachers. "A desire to avoid cut-throat competition" was a main factor influencing them to favor a province-wide salary scale (86:3). "The need for a provincial salary schedule is unquestionable. Units should not bid against one another for teachers," the S.S.T.A. president stated (86:6). In an effort to prevent neighboring units from bidding against one another, zone trustee meetings were held, and in some instances it was proposed that negotiations take place on a zone basis. In December, 1948 the Minister of Education made a decision with regard to the level at which bargaining would take place:

. . . the ultimate solution to differences in regard to salaries must be found at the unit level and it must be found as the result of direct negotiation between the trustees of the individual units and the teachers who are directly employed by the unit members (17:9-10).

⁷ See for example articles in the School Trustee (87:1), and the Saskatchewan Bulletin (47:55).

Statutory bargaining. At the 1948 Council meeting the Minister also reiterated his views regarding legislation to ensure that collective bargaining would take place:

I have taken the stand over the last several years that it was worth while trying to establish this procedure on a voluntary basis. I took the position that if we could work out this procedure without legislation then in the end we would have a more solid basis because we would have built the entire thing upon confidence and good will I urged that there was need for a considerable amount of preparation of people's minds, and that there was room for more experience in this avenue of negotiation and conciliation (17:10).

It was on this basis that the Minister again decided in 1948 not to implement the Federation's request for statutory bargaining. The Trustees Association had stated its "unanimous belief that the proposed legislation /for statutory bargaining/ is undesirable" (11:2). The Federation's request for bargaining rights was supported by a submission to the government from the Saskatchewan Occupational Group Council in January, 1949 (52:2-3). By March of that year, teachers and trustees had agreed to the principle that boards and teachers should be legally required to bargain when requested by either party to do so, and The Teachers' Salary Negotiation Act, 1949 was introduced and passed unanimously in the legislature (109). The teachers had proposed the inclusion of a provincial arbitration board with power to enforce its decisions, but trustees were unwilling to agree to this proposal. Thus, the Act included conciliation machinery, but left the onus for reaching final agreement with the negotiating parties. Except for a few minor alterations, the Act has remained substantially unchanged since its passage in 1949.

The new legislation held several implications for the S.T.F. The members of a salary negotiating committee must be knowledgeable with respect to both the laws, regulations and procedures of negotiation and the factual and statistical bases of negotiation. Since the Act prescribed local negotiations, the local association of teachers rather than the provincial committee had to be given the maximum opportunity to develop negotiation skills. Because there were potentially hundreds of bargaining units in the province it became necessary for the Federation to add to its staff and to expand its services to the locals. A director of field services was appointed in 1950. His efforts had almost immediately to be devoted to assisting local negotiating committees in preparing for and participating in collective bargaining. To this end, a programme of salary negotiation workshops was instituted and held annually throughout the province, and the results of salary research activities were made available to local committees through a series of salary bulletins. By the mid-1950's teachers had become accustomed to the concept and the procedures of collective bargaining with the employing board, and they had discarded the objective they had formerly held of one salary schedule to apply throughout the province.

As would be expected, collective bargaining was adopted most readily in the urban centres and in the larger school units. However, by 1965, the formation of additional school units and the acceptance of collective bargaining even in the remaining small school districts had brought the proportion of teachers covered by collective agreements to more than ninety-nine per cent (83:i).

Conclusion

The efforts of the members of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation to decide upon, first, the method by which their salaries should be determined, and second, the steps by which this method could best be implemented, occupied a period of more than fifteen years, commencing in 1934. Throughout the period their aim was a salary schedule that would recognize both the teachers' academic and professional training and their years of teaching experience. As a first move toward this goal they sought a statutory minimum salary applicable to all teachers. At the beginning of the period the Executive of the Federation directed its appeals to the provincial government. The lack of organization among both teachers and trustees made negotiations at the inspectorate level an impossibility. As the reorganization of school administrative units proceeded, collective bargaining between a school board and its teachers evolved, first on a voluntary and then on a statutory basis. The passing of the Teachers' Salary Negotiation Act assured the expansion and the perpetuation of collective bargaining at the local level.

The answers to three questions may provide a useful summary of teachers' efforts in the field of salary determination. Why was the drive for a statutory minimum salary finally successful? Why did teachers adopt the concept of collective bargaining? Why did teachers eschew negotiating at the provincial level? The answer to any one of these questions is complex and requires consideration of more than a single factor.

The ultimate success of the teachers' efforts to obtain a statutory minimum salary can be attributed first of all to an improvement in the economic conditions prevailing in the province. The 1939 harvest had produced an abundance of wheat for the farmers' bins, the first big crop in a decade. World War II had begun and the demand for labor was increasing. As far as teachers' salaries were concerned, what had been patently impracticable in 1935 was demonstrably realistic in 1940. An important factor in obtaining the \$700 minimum was the clarity and simplicity of the goal, both to the public and to the teachers themselves. The logical justification of the amount of the minimum had never been seriously questioned by any group. As well as being able to grasp readily the nature of the objective being sought, the individual teacher recognized the benefit the minimum would bring to him personally; more than three-quarters of the teachers were under contract for less than the minimum being proposed. Of importance to the success of the campaign were the careful planning, the explicit direction and the effective organization carried on within the Federation. Equally important was the provision consciously made for involving the teachers, along with segments of the public, in every inspectorate in the province. Fundamental to all these factors, and probably more important than any one of them, was the action taken to supplement logical persuasion with a form of effective and subtle pressure--the undertaking by teachers to resign rather than teach for less than \$700. It was a means of action that was effective in two ways; it was sufficient to elicit compliance on the part of those who had the power to make the requested changes; and it was an action that,

unlike a strike in the usual sense of the word, was acceptable to the teachers and compatible with their perceptions of their role.

The concept of collective bargaining was more complex. Its significance was more difficult for the individual teacher to grasp. It is therefore not surprising that the idea of bargaining collectively did not occur spontaneously to the individual teacher as the obvious solution to his problems, but rather resulted from the research of a special study committee. The idea was advocated by the Executive and disseminated to the locals. No doubt the timing of the proposal was propitious. By 1939 collective bargaining for employees had started to become common practice. In addition, teachers were at this time involved in rather close discussions with labor groups. Until 1942, affiliation with labor remained a distinct possibility. Another factor favorable to the adoption of collective bargaining was the period of economic dislocation that was just beginning. In a period in which prices and wages were fluctuating relatively quickly, the old objective of a salary schedule prescribed by statute was inadequate; collective bargaining was flexible, while legislation was almost invariably rigid. Finally, the advocacy by the Federation of collective bargaining rights for teachers might be interpreted as a growth toward maturity. From a position of wanting the provincial government to look after their interests and be their protector, teachers were moving toward a position of collectively assuming greater responsibility for their own affairs.

The decision by teachers to shun provincial negotiations in preference to local level bargaining did not occur quickly or in response

to a specific experience. Rather it was a substitution of goals that took place gradually over a span of several years. Probably the change in attitude toward provincial level bargaining, from one of sympathy to one of antipathy, resulted from a number of unfavorable experiences with provincial negotiation and from growing awareness of the advantages that were concomitants of negotiating at the local level. During the years of voluntary bargaining under the guidance of the provincial salary committee, teacher representatives were repeatedly more able than were the trustee representatives to speak for their local bodies with authority and with confidence that the agreement reached would be accepted by their local groups. This fact was not always the fault of the trustee representatives; local boards had a tradition of autonomous local control that had more meaning for them than did any provincial allegiance. Nevertheless, teachers became disturbed when they found on several occasions that bargains made on the provincial or zone level were later being modified or reversed by the local boards. Of course, the provincial government's decision that negotiations would be local and direct and finally that mandatory bargaining would be legislated had a considerable bearing on the policy eventually adopted by the S.T.F. Teachers were anxious to make the new legislation work effectively. Within a few years they had found that the Teachers' Salary Negotiation Act did give them a voice in salary determination. Accordingly, in an effort to retain that voice, they came to resist any modification that might weaken or nullify it. Provincial bargaining might lead to absorption of teachers into the civil service; it could lead to complete centralization of educational decision-making. By the

1950's neither eventuality was attractive to teachers. The most advantageous concomitant of local bargaining, if broadly interpreted by the parties, was the opportunity it provided teachers to share with trustees in facing a wide range of educational problems. It gave both teachers and boards a keener appreciation of one another's viewpoints and attitudes; it also provided a medium for conferring on items with purely local application. Another factor may have been that some teachers believed themselves to be in a stronger bargaining position locally than provincially. There is some doubt as to the validity of this belief, however, for on more than one occasion teachers had shown themselves capable of massive and concerted action at the provincial level.

The organizational behavior of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in response to the issue of salary determination was, during the first fifteen years of its existence, characterized by a movement from paternalistic dependence to independent self-reliance; from enforced centralization to induced decentralization; and from members' passive observation of the Executive's actions to members' active involvement in organizational affairs.

II. ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR

In reacting to the issue of salary determination the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation exhibited organizational behavior that lends itself to analysis in terms of the five systems of activities. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the major illustrations of each of these activity systems, and to instances of conflict, ineffectiveness

or inefficiency between or within the systems.

The Major Activity Processes

It will be recalled that identification activities function to produce, legitimize and symbolize the image of the unique wholeness of the organization; that perpetuation, work-flow and control activities function to actualize that image; and that homeostatic activities function to combine all the other activities in a co-operative system to preserve the integrity of the organization.

Identification activities. If the Federation was to attain its objectives in regard to salary determination (as well as many of its other objectives) it was essential that large numbers of people be made acquainted with the organizational charter--what the S.T.F. was, what it stood for, the total image of the organization. Those to whom this image had to be conveyed included three groups: uninformed members within the Federation, potential members, and people outside the organization. Development of a concept of the organization among S.T.F. members was promoted primarily by means of three types of identification activities. The first of these consisted of the addresses and discussions at fall conventions; as the years went by the Federation became more and more successful in arranging for its officers and other representatives to attend all inspectorate conventions. The second consisted of the discussions and group study activities encouraged within teachers' locals; although other purposes later emerged, familiarizing members with the S.T.F. was at first the main purpose of local

organization. The third consisted of the continued publication of the Saskatchewan Bulletin; almost every issue was designed in some measure to contribute to unification and cohesiveness among teachers.

Imparting a knowledge and appreciation of the S.T.F. to prospective members was undertaken soon after the Federation was formed. The 1935 Council directed "that arrangements be made by the Executive to inform Normal School students as to the provisions of . . . the Act Respecting the Teaching Profession" (57:8). This directive was implemented in 1936, and for several years thereafter Federation speakers annually addressed the students. By 1950 arrangements had been completed for the formation of a local of the S.T.F. in each teacher training institution; each of these locals was granted full representation on the Council.

The image of the Federation held by people in the external environment was considerably enhanced by the activities teachers initiated in co-operation with school trustees, by the semi-annual meetings of the Saskatchewan Education Conference, and by the establishment of the Saskatchewan Occupational Group Council.

Perpetuation activities. Of the five sub-classes of perpetuation activities, three received particular attention. The first of these was personnel activities, intended to develop and perpetuate the human resources that would assist the organization to attain its objectives. Such human resources include not only individuals within the organization, but also potential members and persons outside the organization "who are presently interacting in essential ways with agents or members

in carrying on operations of the organization" (1:40). Personnel activities that were especially notable were those intended to develop the human resources of teachers within the locals, and those intended to provide the Federation with a capable permanent administrative staff.

Organization of locals received special emphasis during the first five years. By December, 1936, sixty locals had been formed (36:45). Six months later the total stood at one hundred thirty-two (38:19). By the end of 1937 there were two hundred eighty-one locals in existence and plans had been made to complete the province-wide organization (108:5). Of special importance was the formation of the University of Saskatchewan Summer School local in 1936. During each summer session it met once each week and brought together a group of teachers who were pretty well committed to a career in education and who exerted considerable leadership and influence when they returned to their teaching positions throughout the province.

As a system of collective bargaining emerged at the local level it became more necessary for teachers to be participating and contributing members in Federation affairs. At this stage a series of salary workshops was arranged for the specific purpose of developing the human resources at the local level that would enable the Federation to attain its salary objectives.

In addition to personnel activities at the local level, the Federation gave attention to the development of a permanent staff. In 1936 a full-time secretary was employed. By 1937 the employment of a field officer was being advocated (108:5), but this proposal was not implemented. Although an assistant secretary was added to the adminis-

trative staff in 1942, the acting secretary during the war years was not employed continuously on a full-time basis (66:20). Thus it was 1946 before the administrative staff could be said to include two permanent full-time employees, and 1950 before a director of field services was added to the group. One of the activities designed to develop the capabilities and expand the experience of the permanent staff was an annual conference which was instituted about 1946 and which was later extended to include all staff members of the teachers' organizations in the four western provinces.

The human resources that contributed to the Federation's attainment of its objectives also included the capabilities and predispositions of significant individuals outside the organization. Two groups of people were especially notable in this respect. The first group included those members of the trustees' associations who accepted and supported the teachers' requests for a statutory minimum and for collective bargaining, and who played a leading role in convincing trustees that they should concur in these proposals. The second group included a number of members of the Legislative Assembly and Cabinet Ministers who, due largely to their previous experience in the Federation, were already familiar with and personally supported the legislative changes being urged by the teachers' organization.

The second sub-class of perpetuation activities that received special attention was the one that functioned to assure an adequate supply of capital. Finance activities included the obtaining of revenue from teachers' fees, the supplementing of this revenue by means of special voluntary levies, and the soliciting of revenue to finance the

benevolent fund. The growth in the quantity and variety of services offered by the Federation required that fees be increased on three occasions prior to 1950. The original fee in 1934 had been one-tenth of one per cent of the teacher's contracted salary. In 1937 it was increased to one-fifth of one per cent. Another doubling of fees was approved by the Council and by the teachers at conventions on three occasions but the provincial government declined to introduce the required legislative amendment. As a result it became necessary to obtain additional revenue by some other means. In 1943 and again in 1944 teachers were asked to contribute voluntarily an additional one dollar toward S.T.F. revenues. In both years the supplementary fee was contributed by approximately two-thirds of the teachers in the province (64:9; 8:3). In 1944 the legislature approved the fee increase previously requested. In 1948 the amount of the Federation fee became four-fifths of one per cent. The other finance activity was the establishment in 1936 of a benevolent fund to assist needy teachers with grants or loans. This fund obtained contributions from Saskatchewan teachers and from teachers in other provinces, especially Ontario. During 1938 the benevolent fund committee was called upon to assist 988 teachers who were destitute, by providing grants and loans totaling \$12,066.00 (78).

The third sub-class of perpetuation activities that was especially evident was the one that generated and disseminated ideas. Thoughtways activities included the provisions made for staff officers or advisory committees of the Federation to conduct programmes of study and research that would yield ideas, basic information and recommendations for the use of the Executive, the Council, and the inspectorate conventions.

For example, the first Council appointed a special committee to study salary schedules and to suggest ways of obtaining them. By 1939 the salary committee had produced the basic principles that guided the Federation's salary activities during the subsequent decade. In 1947 a report prepared by the secretary outlined the principles that were incorporated in the Federation's policy on collective bargaining. An advisory committee on research gathered basic data on teachers' qualifications and school districts. An advisory committee on legislation generated new ideas and promising innovations respecting provincial statutes. A policy committee was given the task of suggesting needed educational reforms.

The remaining two sub-classes of perpetuation activities were of limited importance. Conservation activities were not begun until the early 1950's, when a site was purchased for an office building. Service activities were restricted mostly to necessary additions of equipment and materials.

Work-flow activities. Those activities which create or produce the product or service which it is the organization's function to supply are called work-flow activities. Such activities constitute the central core of operations within the organization; without them all other activity processes are abortive, for their purpose is to facilitate the work-flow process. In other words, work-flow activities are those which are focused directly upon the attainment of the goals of the organization. In the area of salary determination the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation successively pursued two distinct goals: a

statutory minimum, and collective bargaining. The specific steps undertaken to attain these immediate objectives constitute the work-flow activities of the S.T.F. The steps taken with regard to each objective are summarized in Table IV. It must be noted that this summary does not include all the work-flow activities of the organization in all areas, nor even all the work-flow activities in the area of salaries. Work-flow activities related to other goals frequently supplemented and occasionally were essential prerequisites for the work-flow activities related to a minimum salary and collective bargaining. For example, many of the work-flow activities of the S.T.F. were focused upon obtaining larger units of administration, the establishment of which later made collective bargaining possible. Similarly, work-flow activities directed toward the attainment of other salary goals, such as collection of salary arrears, supplemented the activity by which members' commitment to united action was obtained.

It is possible to consider two sub-classes of work-flow activities: production and distribution. This sub-division is more useful in examining the work-flow activities that affect the organization's members differentially than it is in examining work-flow activities of the organization as a whole. Thus, instituting legal action on a teacher's behalf to recover unpaid salary can be analyzed into activities that produce the service and activities that distribute the service to the teacher. In the case of a statutory minimum salary, however, all work-flow activities leading to its being legislated could be described as production activities, while the distribution of the product or service created (specifically, the application of the minimum salary pro-

TABLE IV

WORK-FLOW ACTIVITIES IN SALARY DETERMINATION

I. STATUTORY MINIMUM SALARYII. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

A. PREPARING THE WAY

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Obtaining concurrence of teachers and Council on the desirability of a statutory minimum salary 2. Informing and influencing <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. the general public b. school trustees c. M.L.A.'s and Cabinet Ministers d. commissions and committees e. teachers themselves by means of <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. addresses and discussions b. formal briefs c. informal meetings d. education conferences e. releases to news media f. the <u>Saskatchewan Bulletin</u> 3. Resolving the issue of what action teachers might legitimately take in support of their proposals (i.e., the strike versus the mass resignation) 4. Arranging a test of the self-imposed salary minimum on an individual basis 5. Formulating a plan of action: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. a programme to enlist support of legislature and the public b. a pledge by teachers not to teach for less than \$700.00 if 3/4 of teachers agree c. a fund to support teachers who become unemployed as a result of their pledge | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Evolving the idea and proclaiming its potential appropriateness and applicability 2. Exploring the possible advantages of affiliation with the labor movement, of provincial level bargaining, and of inclusion within the scope of the Labor Act; discussing these issues at Council and at inspectorate conventions 3. Advocating a specific plan to implement collective bargaining--a provincial salary standards board 4. Promoting the introduction of collective bargaining on a trial and voluntary basis wherever and as soon as a bargaining unit was large enough (first, towns and cities; later, school units) |
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TABLE IV (continued)

B. ATTAINING THE GOAL

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Obtaining teacher commitment to the plan by means of signed pledges 2. Repeatedly requesting the provincial government to establish a statutory minimum salary; in 1939-40, attaching to this request a statement of the consequences that would accompany further inaction 3. Declaring the plan to be in operation and arranging the details of actions to be taken 4. Mobilizing the efforts of members: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. letters - from Federation to councillors, principals, school boards, M.L.A.'s - from teachers to M.L.A.'s b. delegations and interviews <ol style="list-style-type: none"> - of M.L.A.'s by teachers - of Cabinet by Executive - of M.L.A.'s by special committee in Regina - of trustees by teachers - of other groups by teachers and Executive | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Repeatedly requesting the provincial government to legislate collective bargaining rights for teachers 2. Obtaining provincial level teacher-trustee-department agreement to promote local level collective bargaining; giving local teachers and trustees tripartite encouragement, advice and direction 3. Obtaining teachers' concurrence as to the acceptability of the idea and related procedures <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. approved by teachers and Council b. discipline action to ensure absence of individual bargaining c. acquainting teachers with the philosophy and principles of collective bargaining 4. Demonstrating the consequences of denying teachers the right of collective bargaining (the Kamsack dispute being an instance of such action) 5. Participating in local voluntary collective bargaining on a scale sufficiently broad that statutory bargaining would precipitate neither disruption nor rebellion |
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C. ENSURING ITS UTILIZATION

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reviewing teachers' contracts at local and provincial level to see that they adhered to the minimum salary legislation; reminding teachers of the legal and ethical necessity so to adhere | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Co-operating provincially with trustees and the Department of Education in solving local problems and in explaining and promoting the philosophy and procedures of collective bargaining |
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TABLE IV (concluded)

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| <p>2. Advertising the names of school districts that had been granted exemption from the minimum salary law</p> <p>3. Observing the operation of the new legislation to see whether the exemption proviso was being abused</p> | <p>2. Sending Federation officers to discuss and explain the <u>Teachers' Salary Negotiation Act, 1949</u> in districts where collective bargaining had not yet been adopted</p> <p>3. Providing resources and guidance through</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. training workshops for negotiators b. preparing relevant information and statistics c. advice and occasional assistance during negotiations <p>4. Resisting incursions on the method and the level that had been established for determining teachers' salaries (<u>viz.</u>, collective bargaining at the local level)</p> |
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vision) was already embodied in the product itself. In the case of collective bargaining, on the other hand, it might be possible to characterize work-flow activities leading to the passing of the Teachers' Salary Negotiation Act, 1949 as production, and those leading to the negotiation of salary schedules under the Act as distribution.

Control activities. To unify and co-ordinate all the differentiated activities, to overcome the multidirectional predispositions of the basic resources, and to ensure a function-fulfilling flow of activities and a systematic and timely flow of information, control activities are required.

Perhaps the best illustration of the control activities of the S.T.F. in the field of salary determination is to be found in certain aspects of the minimum salary campaign. Control activities were also involved in the attainment of collective bargaining, but to a considerable extent the inspectorate organizations (sub-groups of the Federation) bargained autonomously and independently and certain of the control activities accordingly originated with the sub-group. In general, control activities in the S.T.F. included efforts to prevent underbidding, contract jumping, individual bargaining, and unwillingness to support the negotiating committee.

Sub-classes of control activities perform specific functions. The first of the four sub-classes is directive activities. These initiate action and the type and direction of action for people and machines. In the minimum salary campaign, the Executive and its salary campaign committee issued a series of specific directives as to the action each member was to take. Every teacher was to complete the pledges (indicating either support or rejection of the plan) and to write to his M.L.A. Every principal and councillor was assigned specific tasks regarding pledges, letters and interviews. A system of steps, priorities, deadlines, and remedial action was established to ensure the fulfilment of every phase and objective of the plan.

Motivation activities, the second sub-class of control activities, seek to reward or penalize behavior in the interest of making it conform to the type desired by the organization. Federation activities in this sub-class include the attainment of the power to discipline members for unprofessional conduct, and the development

and adoption of a code of ethics. Another activity that would fall into this category would be the tendency for the teacher group to confer acceptance upon members conforming to the behavior deemed by the group to be desirable, and to ostracize members who chose to flout these standards of conduct. A factor contributing to the success of motivation activities was the predisposition on the part of most teachers, due in part to their backgrounds and the nature of their work, to place a high value on "doing what is right."

The third sub-class of control activities is that which is concerned with evaluation. Evaluation activities include supervising and reviewing performance, assigning people in terms of their abilities, and assessing, comparing and predicting alternative courses of action. In the Federation's minimum salary campaign, evaluation activities included the assessing of the trial run; the comparing of probable advantages of the strike and the mass resignation; the checking with councillors to ascertain who had successfully completed their assignments; the assigning of capable and experienced personnel to the salary campaign committee and to the interviewing committee in Regina; and the assessing of the effect of the proposed action upon the organization as a whole.

Communication activities are those which supply participants with the premises and data they need in order to perform other activities. In the minimum salary campaign, teachers were supplied with the details of the proposed plan, and were then asked on the basis of this information to register their opposition or support. Teachers and councillors were provided with data and information to assist them in

their meetings with their M.L.A. Cabinet ministers and M.L.A.'s-- both in the government and in the opposition--were given exhaustive and elaborate documentation in support of the requested legislation. Teachers, councillors and principals were given minute clarification of what each was expected to do and by what time it had to be done. Councillors and local committees reported on their interviews and on the apparent attitude of the various M.L.A.'s. These were communication activities.

Homeostatic activities. To preserve its integrity in an evolving state of dynamic equilibrium an organization engages in homeostatic activities. The first sub-class of these is the fusion process, which functions to fuse the divergent expectancies and interests of individual members and groups of members with those of the organization. Thus, when qualified teachers were in short supply, some members of the Federation found a source of personal gain and advancement in 'contract jumping'--refusing to honor a contract with one board in order to accept a more lucrative contract with another. While the practice may have been beneficial to the individual, it was harmful to the Federation and the teaching profession. Accordingly, activities were initiated to discourage, and after 1948 to punish, this kind of action by individual teachers.

On some occasions a group of members professed interests that were not immediately compatible with those of the Federation. One example was the debate over increases in fees. Expanded services demanded increased revenue. Some locals, considering that their in-

terests were adequately served by the present level of activities, opposed any further fee increase (68:50-52). Activities to placate these locals and to move members and sub-groups toward consensus were part of the fusion process.

The problem-solving process occurred at various stages in the Federation's efforts to obtain a statutory minimum salary and collective bargaining. For example, by September, 1939 the organization, in preparing its plan of action, had to review the strengths and inadequacies of the steps it had taken thus far, had to explore possible alternative courses of action and to analyze the attendant advantages and disadvantages, had to make a choice and decision, and had to mobilize its activities and resources toward attaining its objectives. That adequate consideration had been given to the various aspects of the problem is indicated by the success of the organization in reaching its goal.

Leadership activities provide vision as to developments or implications, initiation in launching activity necessary for the maintenance of the organization, and guidance to the participants in promoting the organization's integrity and growth. Although leadership activities occurred at several points in the Federation's response to the issue of salary determination, perhaps four instances are especially significant and illustrative. The first was the action taken by the secretary and the Executive in 1936 to divert a probable schism at the forthcoming Council meeting over the strike question. Another was the effort of the president in 1939 to make the proposed mass resignation more palatable to all teachers by his careful dis-

inction between that action and a strike. A third instance was the action of the Executive in avoiding a premature decision on the issue of affiliation with labor. Finally, there was the foresight of various leaders and groups in seizing upon and promoting the adoption of collective bargaining as the method of determining teachers' salaries.

Conflict

Until 1945 there continued to exist a certain amount of conflict between and among the various activity systems as a result of inadequate capital. After that year the Federation controlled its own fee structure and financial barriers to the expected level of services largely disappeared.

Perhaps the major conflict between activity systems occurred between work-flow and identification activities. Specifically the conflict emerged at two points. First there was the apparent incompatibility between the implementation of some form of strike action and the development of professionalism among teachers. Strike action became an essential element in the Federation's work-flow activities. Professional status was a key element in its organizational charter. Considerable time elapsed before these two seemingly conflicting elements were reconciled to the satisfaction of the teachers who had to accept both before either of these two activity systems could become fully effective. A second point of conflict between work-flow and identification activities resulted from the top priority that had been allocated to salaries. It was decided that, until economic goals had been attained in some measure, the activities and

resources of the Federation could not be partially diverted toward the realization of professional development objectives. Thus the intensive concentration of work-flow activities in one area almost to the exclusion of the other caused a delay in the full realization of all elements in the organizational charter.

Ineffectiveness and Inefficiency

Weaknesses in the various activity systems became apparent from time to time. Symptoms of ineffectiveness in the identification activities included occasional dissatisfaction of members and sub-groups with certain aspects of Federation policy. For example, some groups were openly hostile and rebellious toward the policy of opposing strike action; and in the issue of labor affiliation, wide differences of opinion emerged, reflecting diverse perceptions of what the organization should be and do. An inadequate perception of the reciprocal rights and obligations of members, sub-groups and the organization was evident in the need for special efforts to promote decentralization in Federation affairs and the assumption of collective bargaining responsibilities by the local groups.⁸ Possibly the most severe symptom of the ineffectiveness of the identification activities occurred as a result of the failure of the work-flow activities of the Federation during the late 1930's. Teachers had looked upon the Federation as one means of self-realization; by 1939 the possibilities of members'

⁸See for example the 1935 secretary's report (112:2-3) and the 1947 Council minutes (68:26).

self-realization through membership in a professional organization, at least in so far as their economic expectations were concerned, were beginning to fade.

Ineffectiveness in perpetuation activities is indicated by quantitative shortages and qualitative inadequacies in basic resources. Shortages occurred in capital; and in personnel, especially during the war years; but never in ideas. No symptoms of inefficiency in perpetuation activities are apparent.

Work-flow activities were ineffective from 1935 to 1939 in that they failed to enable the Federation to gain its objective. However, there was no interruption in the work-flow of activities directed toward the goals of a minimum salary and salary schedules. Indeed, if work-flow interruptions occurred at all, they occurred in the activities directed toward other goals, because economic welfare was receiving foremost attention. One symptom of inefficiency in the work-flow activities during the late 1930's may have been the failure to use local personnel more actively in an effort to reinforce the Executive's requests to the provincial government.

Ineffectiveness in control activities was illustrated by instances of contract jumping, underbidding and individual bargaining. Increased effectiveness of control activities led to a substantial reduction in these kinds of action.

The Federation apparently suffered no irreparable damage through a decline in homeostasis. Friction and factionalism arose over certain issues and proposed actions. Individuals and groups rebelled against certain standards required by the organization (as

in the case of inspectorate strikes and strike threats between 1937 and 1939). There was a certain amount of indifference and apathy of some members toward the needs of the organization (as in the case of those who neglected to remit voluntary levies, to return pledges and to assist in the salary campaign). These symptoms, however, were characterized more by their occurrence than by their persistence. Therefore, the effect on the homeostasis of the organization was at no time great enough to cause disintegration.

Summary

During the years from 1936 to 1949 the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation engaged in perpetuation activities to ensure an adequate supply of human talent, financial resources and fruitful ideas; in work-flow activities that attained its two major salary goals; in control activities that were largely successful in eliciting member behavior compatible with organizational goals; and identification and homeostatic activities as the need for them became apparent. A limited amount of conflict developed between work-flow and identification activities. Symptoms of ineffectiveness and inefficiency were either sufficiently transient or so correctly diagnosed that the homeostasis of the organization was adequately maintained.

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CHAPTER V

TEACHER EDUCATION AND CERTIFICATION

I. THE ISSUE

Introduction

The provincial statute that incorporated the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation prescribed six objects for the organization. The second of these was "to raise the status of the teaching profession" (1:1). In an effort to attain this objective the Federation has sought continuous improvements in the qualifications of its members.

In the field of pre-service teacher education, improved qualifications may arise from two sources. The first of these is improvements in the calibre and the capabilities of entrants to the profession; such improvements may be obtained by imposing more discriminating criteria for the selecting of suitable candidates. The second source of improved qualifications is the required programme of teacher education; the academic and professional competence of the prospective teacher may be increased by means of more and better preparatory courses. Recognizing these two sources of improved qualifications, the Federation has directed its attention in large measure to selection procedures, requirements for initial and subsequent certification, and the adequacy of the teacher education programmes.

The issues related to teacher education differed in at least one respect from many of the other issues that confronted the S.T.F.--the persons most directly affected by the teacher education programme were

not yet full members of the Federation. Furthermore, the teacher education programme was one in which the Federation or its individual members were involved to only a very limited extent. Therefore, if organized teachers were to realize their objectives with regard to changes in teacher education and certification, it was necessary for the Federation to obtain a voice, to attain a position of influence, in the decisions that were being made in this field.

This chapter will examine the specific issues that confronted the Federation in its campaign for higher standards, the steps it took to extend its influence with respect to these issues, and the obstacles that it encountered in striving to attain its goals.

Seeking Higher Standards

The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation has always, as a matter of policy, advocated higher standards of qualification for its members. This policy had its origin in a tradition that had been established long before the S.T.F. was formed. The Saskatchewan Education Association had been formed in 1907 for "the advancement of its members in matters relating to practical education" (58:1). Shortly after the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance was formed it went on record as being "strongly opposed to the importation of unqualified teachers" (43:2). The Alliance also registered a protest against "short term" courses for teachers because they were "(a) Flooding the teaching profession with teachers of a negligible standard of academic and professional standing with consequent disastrous results upon the pupils entrusted to their charge. (b) Lowering the standard of the teaching profession

which the Alliance is anxious to raise to a high level and maintain it so . . ." (41:1). In addition the Alliance considered the possibility of restricting its membership to teachers who had attained a prescribed level of certification, and urged the Department of Education "that the granting of permits should be discontinued immediately for all time" (41:3). By 1933 the Alliance was calling for "the raising of standards for admission to the profession and the control of admission" (42:3).

From the beginning the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation committed itself to a similar high standards approach in teacher education and certification. However, in 1933 the concern with the teachers' economic plight relegated all else to second place. It is significant that in its six-point programme, the radical and rebellious Rural Teachers' Association had made no reference to teacher education and certification (40:1).

The depression years. The position of the Federation on standards of admission and certification was formulated by the Council in 1935:

That the Department of Education be requested to adjust the supply of teachers to the demand by (a) limiting the number of admissions to the Normal School; (b) raising the standard of entrance to Grade XII; (c) providing that teachers' certificates shall lapse after absence from the profession for a period of five years . . . (46:9).

The Council also called for "a test in English so that no one unable to speak or write a standard of English befitting an individual giving instruction in Saskatchewan schools be admitted to the Saskatchewan Normal Schools" (46:11). With the economic depression thousands of

former teachers had flocked back to the profession and each vacant position attracted dozens, often hundreds, of applicants. By 1939 the Federation was still demanding a limit on Normal School enrolments, but it was unable to win governmental support on this point (49:22).

The first activity undertaken by the Federation relative to teacher certification was a study to determine the qualifications of its members (24:5). On the basis of this survey the research committee was asked to investigate the following questions:

What academic qualifications should be required for admission to the Normal Schools and to the College of Education? Should confidential reports on the character and personality of the applicant be required from teachers and inspectors? Should the number of students admitted be limited to the estimated number of vacancies by means of a competitive examination? Examination of the systems of selection followed elsewhere, as for example, Queensland, Australia. Should a permanent first class certificate be issued only to those who have completed at least the Second Year Arts Course, or equivalent academic training? (25:5-7).

These studies provided the basis for many of the policies that were later adopted and promoted by the Federation.

During 1936 the regulations governing teachers' certificates were revised by the Department of Education. Before doing so the Department had consulted with the Federation, and the 1936 Council expressed "general satisfaction . . . with the amendments" (47:8).

While supporting in principle the increased requirements for teachers' certificates, the Federation strongly condemned the conditions under which teachers were being expected to improve their qualifications. Accordingly, many of its activities during the 1930's were directed at mediating between what was desirable and what was possible. It was suggested that the Department should either extend the certificates of

teachers who had not yet paid Normal School fees until a \$750 salary was being paid in cash, or accept school district notes at par as the payment for these fees (48:12). When the new regulations demanded that teachers improve their certificates the Federation initiated negotiations with the University of Saskatchewan for the provision of scholarships. As a result of these negotiations in 1936, over one hundred teachers were awarded scholarships¹ which provided for reduced fees, reduced room and board, and travelling allowance (27:6). The following year approximately six hundred scholarships were made available. When the Federation's benevolent fund had been established, small loans were made available to teachers who otherwise would have been unable to complete the summer school session. As a result of these efforts to supply meagre financial assistance, summer school enrolment in 1936 increased by one-third and by a further one-third in 1937. The Federation secretary noted that this response "bears out our contention that our teachers are willing and anxious to improve their professional and academic qualifications when it is humanly possible for them so to do" (74:5).

Shortage of teachers. Through the 1940's and into the 1950's the Federation continued to pursue its high standards approach in teacher education. Rather than pressing for raised standards, however, its efforts became necessarily directed toward the preservation of the

¹The scholarships enabled a teacher "to come to the University Summer School and complete a class for a fee of \$5.00 . . . and to receive board and room for six weeks of the summer school at a cost of \$20.00" (26:11).

standards of admission and certification that were already in existence. A severe shortage of teachers occurred early in the war years and persisted for nearly two decades.

The Department's decision to inaugurate a "short Normal" course was announced in 1941. By October, 1941, over fifty students with only six weeks of Normal School training had been placed in schools. The move took the Federation completely by surprise. Neither it nor the Trustees Association had been consulted or even informed about the Department's decision (28:3). The reaction of the Federation was definite and quick. The president and secretary contacted the Department by telephone, by telegraph, and by personal interview. They requested that the Department's action in releasing Normal School students be immediately suspended, and that a conference of teacher, trustee and Department representatives be convened to explore alternative courses of action, several of which the Federation had already proposed. The Executive arranged a meeting with the Minister and discussed the matter at considerable length (9). Editorials and articles in the Federation magazine deplored the Department's action and reiterated preferable alternatives (28:1-4). To the inspectorate associations it was suggested "that protest meetings be called throughout your superintendency immediately and that strong worded protests be despatched to the Minister" (7:1). An example of the action taken locally was the resolution presented to the Saskatoon convention which, after a lengthy preamble detailing the history of teacher supply and reasons for the present teacher shortage, resolved as follows:

That we, the teachers of the High Schools, the Public and

Separate Schools of Saskatoon and district, assembled here in mass meeting, protest the action proposed by the Department of Education, namely to send out certain Normal School students, with little training and no teaching experience, to take over the duty of teaching children in this province, and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Minister of Education, the Deputy Minister of Education, and each member of the Provincial Legislature (23).

Despite the variety of supporting actions, the Executive's meeting with the Minister was in vain. The secretary reported to the councillors, "I would say that our meeting was most unsatisfactory. We received no assurance that the present action would be stopped nor that any steps would be taken to adequately deal with the situation" (8:1). When the Council met in December the matter was still to the fore. The president listed "the matter of uncertificated teachers" as one of the three major problems confronting the S.T.F. (13:1). On the opening day of the Council meeting the councillors quizzed the Minister about the decision on releasing Normal School students and his failure to inform the Federation (50:3). On the final day Council went "on record as censuring the department of education of this province on its recent policy of sending out unqualified persons . . . to teach in the schools of Saskatchewan" (50:20). At the same time, however, it rejected a motion "That Normalites or other unqualified persons . . . be denied any benefits from teachers' organizations" (50:19).

During 1942 the problem grew worse. Instead of releasing Normal School students mid-way through the year, a special short term course was inaugurated during the summer months. (This change had been suggested by the Federation as the lesser of the two evils.) Entrance requirements had been lowered to accept students who had not completed

Grade XII. In December, 1942 the president presented a gloomy statistical statement:

Approximately 900 teachers graduated from the provincial Normal Schools last spring. Another 100 were released in August after approximately 12 weeks training, and an additional 400 released after similar training in September. That makes a total of approximately 1400 new teachers 134 students have been released, for service in the schools, from the full term Normal School class since it opened in September of this year. (That brings the total of new teachers to 1534.) In addition 145 schools, at least, have been closed since July 1941 and the pupils conveyed to other schools. Probably 150 schools were unable to open at the planned date after this summer's holidays because of inability to secure a teacher. It is not encouraging to learn that the net enrolment at Normal School on December 11 was only 625. Undoubtedly many of these will be released before they have completed the regular course (14:1-2).

In the face of such information teachers began to experience a feeling of futility in their efforts to have standards of admission and certification maintained. The report of the Teacher Shortage Committee to the 1943 Council was pessimistic: "We feel that no radical changes can be made until such time as hostilities cease" (51:16). At the end of 1944, one-half the teachers in Saskatchewan were nineteen years of age or younger (66:10).

The end of the war brought no end to the teacher shortage. In December, 1946 the president reported:

This fall some 600 schools could not open for lack of teachers. The superintendents and principals had been requested to find prospective Normal School students in their high schools. The response was not particularly great. Some 800 students entered Normal School in September. 1000 had been expected (5:1).

The practice of providing short-term Normal School courses and releasing students before they had completed the regular course continued through 1946 and 1947. Finally, at the 1947 inspectorate fall conventions,

teachers began action to have the practice stopped. Their deliberations were based in part upon the following information:

A practice, which in 1941 started out as an expediency has become the established practice and . . . many boards are not making an honest effort to obtain qualified teachers as they know that they will be able to procure Normal School students. This means that the Normal School population is being depleted and that the number of untrained teachers is increasing. This can only reflect in a lowering of teaching standards which works to the detriment of the profession as a whole (60:1).

The viewpoint formulated by the teachers at the conventions was considered by the 1947 Council, which decided that it would henceforth vigorously oppose the release of any untrained personnel to the schools (53:44). The subsequent implementation of this policy appears to have been to a considerable extent responsible for the fact that the practices of offering six- or twelve-week courses and releasing partially trained students were permanently discontinued after 1948.

At the same time as the Federation began advocating the cessation of crash courses and prematurely released Normalites, it proposed an alternative: the use of study supervisors. Such persons would supervise students who were studying correspondence lessons; the study supervisors would not be teachers, would not be certificated, and would not be expected to provide instruction. One of the main reasons for advocating this change was to emphasize the shortage of teachers and the need for remedial action; teachers with temporary certificates, despite the extreme brevity of their training, had been looked upon by the public as "teachers." The decision of the Department to implement the new approach was described by the Minister in his address to the 1948 Council:

In order to put people in some of the classrooms still without teachers . . . it was decided that we would use this year study supervisors instead of depleting the people who had enrolled at the Normal School. This wasn't a very easy decision to make. It wasn't one that we made with any degree of happiness. I am pleased to say that your Executive did concur in it as, not a good procedure, but a procedure that was better than releasing the students from the Normal Schools. It has been interesting to note that the number of supervisors required has been far less than indicated by the number of schools without teachers after the release of students from the Normal Schools (54:7).

The latter part of this statement gave credence to the Federation's previous contention: school boards, relying on the probable release of Normalites, had not put forth an exhaustive effort to find qualified teachers.

However, the number of study supervisors required each year began to increase. The extent of this increase is shown in Table V.

TABLE V

NUMBER OF STUDY SUPERVISORS IN SASKATCHEWAN
SCHOOLS, 1948-1953²

Year	Number of Study Supervisors
1948-49	235
1949-50	449
1950-51	527
1951-52	589
1952-53	666

²Data obtained from a Canadian Teachers' Federation Information Bulletin (3).

By 1951 the Council considered it necessary to call for a halt to the increasingly widespread dependence upon "sitters":

Whereas we consider that the use of study supervisors would be unnecessary if adequate salaries were paid to recruit and retain qualified teachers, and whereas the use of study supervisors is unfair to the boys and girls of Saskatchewan, and whereas a multiplicity of low enrolled schools is detrimental to the education of this province, be it resolved that this Council urge that the Department of Education abandon the use of study supervisors (55:124).

A similar resolution was passed by the Council the following year (56:56). Although the number of study supervisors began to decrease after 1953, it was not until 1960 that their numbers had been reduced to a relatively insignificant level (17:72).

In its fight against the use of unqualified persons in the schools the Federation attempted to utilize methods other than mere exhortation. Teachers were requested to report instances of unqualified persons being employed in order that Federation officials could raise the violation with the authorities; co-operation of the Department was practically always forthcoming. As early as 1939 the Executive was investigating the possibility of taking legal action against persons who acted as teachers in violation of the School Act (65:86). However, the School Act provided that prosecution could be initiated only with the consent of the Minister, and such consent could not be obtained.

In addition to its vehement condemnation of what it considered to be the adulteration of standards, the Federation proposed a number of alternatives. First of all it took the view that education involved more than "the mere keeping open of schools" (10:3). Throughout the period of the teacher shortage the Department had been reluctant to

allow standards of teacher certification to cause the closing of schools. In 1943 the Minister of Education had told Council, ". . . we believe that it is better to have a teacher with little training than to have no teacher" (51:18). After a decade of seeing certification standards diluted and ignored, the Federation was ready to advocate more drastic measures. The attitude of the Council in 1947 was captured by the past president, who said:

/A Department official/ asked me what I would do if schools were closed through lack of a teacher. I suggested leaving schools closed at least until February 1st I think the public needs a jolt but I was told that no government should leave schools closed. Just because the key is turned in the door doesn't mean the school is in session. Personally, I consider it requires a teacher. Under our present curriculum, it requires a trained teacher How can a child go out with six weeks of training and teach? (53:9).

Specific suggestions were made to overcome the scarcity: train more teachers, for longer periods, so that they would have a commitment to teaching; provide more attractive salaries and living conditions to retain the teachers we have; close schools with low enrolments (there were more than 900 of them with fewer than ten pupils in 1951) and convey pupils to centralized schools (34:12-13). Indeed, centralization was an essential administrative reform. In 1950-51 Manitoba had 1,528 one-room rural schools; Alberta had 1,551; Saskatchewan had 3,547 (70:23).

Certification regulations. By the middle of the 1940's Saskatchewan teachers had begun to talk about a degree for every teacher as a desirable and realistic goal for the S.T.F. Thus the Federation became a prime advocate of a reorganized College of Education that would pro-

vide a four-year undergraduate programme leading to the Bachelor of Education degree (52:33). This goal was attained in 1946. The Federation was equally interested in having the Department's certification regulations revised so that they would be based upon the amount of progress toward the B.Ed. degree and so that the number of kinds of certificate would be substantially reduced. During the 1940's there were almost two dozen different teachers' certificates in existence in Saskatchewan. Both these aims were realized in the 1953 revision of the certification regulations; the number of certificates was reduced to three, and they represented the completion of one, two or four years of the B.Ed. programme (19).

Perhaps the major significance of the 1953 regulations, however, was their provision that no permanent teaching certificate would be issued until the teacher had completed two years of professional and academic preparation beyond senior matriculation. A two-year minimum had been an important feature of Federation policy for many years. As early as 1944 such a minimum had been urged upon the provincial government (31:38). The 1953 regulations represented the first tangible progress toward this goal. The Federation recognized, however, that the regulation would be ineffective unless observed. Too often in previous years regulations had been relaxed or ignored when the province was threatened with a shortage of teachers. Accordingly, the Federation undertook two activities to raise the level of preparation of all teachers to at least two years beyond senior matriculation. It began to urge every teacher to take the required additional classes, and its local bargaining units negotiated into their salary agreements a pro-

vision that made salary increments for teachers with interim certificates dependent upon the required progress toward a permanent certificate. The resulting improvement in the qualifications of the Saskatchewan teaching force is indicated in Table VI. Despite this marked

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE OF SASKATCHEWAN TEACHERS WITH
TWO OR MORE YEARS OF TRAINING BEYOND
GRADE XII, SELECTED YEARS³

Year	Percentage of Teachers
1944-45	14.2
1949-50	22.2
1956-57	34.7
1959-60	44.8
1963-64	60.5

progress towards two years of training for all teachers, it was still possible--and indeed common practice--for persons to commence their teaching career upon completion of the one-year programme at the Teachers College. Although the Federation continued its efforts to persuade the provincial government to invoke a two-year minimum, teachers soon became convinced that a change in the structure of teacher education in Saskatchewan was an obvious prerequisite to a

³Data in this table were obtained from Department of Education reports (21:1; 18:37).

mandatory minimum of two years' pre-service education for all teachers.

An improved teacher education programme. It has been noted that the S.T.F. was an active supporter of the decision in 1946 to provide a four-year undergraduate programme in the College of Education. At the same time it had been an advocate of the plan to accept completion of the one-year Normal School course as the equivalent of the first year of the B.Ed. programme. The implementation of this arrangement had constituted a first step toward the integration of teacher training programmes in Saskatchewan.

During the ensuing years the Federation used what influence it had to extend the co-ordination of the Teachers College and College of Education courses. Teachers wanted to encourage the adoption of the same regulations in both institutions. Thus, in 1947 the Federation attempted to obtain revisions in regulations which, in its opinion, constituted "discrimination against the College of Education" and "an attempt to make the College of Education purely a high school teacher training college" (59:2). The regulations in question permitted Normal School students, often with as little as six weeks of training, to teach in any position in which a permanent first class certificate was valid, but prohibited College of Education students who had completed the two-year programme from teaching below grade seven without special permission. Another area of concern to teachers was the differences in the entrance requirements of the Teachers College and the College of Education. In 1946, for example, the latter required a grade twelve standing with a sixty per cent average, while the former admitted stu-

dents with only a partial grade twelve standing (60:1). The Federation continued during the 1950's to press the Department to raise the Teachers College entrance requirements to coincide with those of the College of Education. Gradually, the Teachers College admission requirements were raised to include a complete grade twelve and finally to specify a minimum average of sixty per cent (37:3).

Complete integration of the teacher training programmes in the province had long been an aim of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. As early as 1944 the Executive had urged upon the provincial government the combining of the Normal Schools and the College of Education into a single teacher training institution (31:39). By 1956 the Minister of Education had become convinced of the desirability of the idea. He said:

. . . the situation I have just described wherein part of the training is in one institution and part in another, together with the increasing numbers registering at our teacher-training institutions, indicates a need for even closer integration of training (12:15).

Between 1956 and 1963 a series of meetings and conferences attended by representatives of the organizations interested in teacher education was devoted to a study of the teacher training issue in Saskatchewan.⁴

The device chosen by the Minister of Education to study the issue of integration and the alternative ways in which it might be accomplished was a Minister's Committee. To this committee the Minister appointed representatives from a number of organizations, including

⁴For a study of how the issue was agitated and settled, see Housego (11). Much of what follows draws upon this study.

the Department of Education, the University of Saskatchewan, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, and the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association. The committee held four meetings and presented an interim report. At its third meeting the committee had adopted by a vote of fourteen to two a motion stating that the committee felt the interests of the teacher training programme in Saskatchewan would best be served by an integrated approach. The motion had been moved by the Dean of Education and seconded by the S.T.F. president (11:83). In its interim report, however, the committee did not presume to say what should be done. Rather it outlined three alternatives: an integrated programme in the College of Education, a federated college, and an equal division of the four-year programme between the Teachers College and the College of Education. Influential officials of the Department favored the second or third alternatives; university officials favored the first. Housego concludes:

Apparently the Minister and his Deputy, while not wanting to institute a policy against the judgement of their Director of Teacher Training, were equally loath to institute a policy which was anathema to the University officials (11:101).

No decision was made. The Minister's Committee did not meet again.

A new Minister of Education took office in 1960. In January, 1961 he began arrangements to establish another Minister's Committee to study integration of the teacher training programmes. However, in November, 1961 he was succeeded by yet another person as Minister of Education, and it was July, 1962 before the Second Minister's Committee was established. This committee included six representatives from the Department of Education, five from the university, and two from each

of the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association and the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. During 1962-63 it held four meetings and a special five-day conference. At its final meeting, on October 7, 1963, the committee, in a motion moved by the S.T.F. president, recommended the integration of teacher education in a College of Education at the University of Saskatchewan (11:141). Six weeks later the Minister of Education and the President of the University made a joint announcement to the public concerning a new policy to cover the integration of teacher education in Saskatchewan, effective July 1, 1964 (11:142-43).

During the seven years of discussion and deliberation, the Federation and its representatives were active in attempting to influence the outcome of the negotiations. The extent of the Federation's influence is indicated in Housego's dissertation. Using the reputational approach, Housego obtained from twenty persons, presumed to be knowledgeable about the teacher training issue, the names of those who were influential in the issue. The organizations named as being influential, and the number of times each was named, are shown in Table VII (11:151). The president and the assistant executive secretary of the Federation were named among the influentials, being members of the Minister's Committee. In addition, four persons are designated as influentials, even though they were not on the committee: the former Director of Teacher Training, the Premier, the Minister of Health (formerly Minister of Education), and the Executive Secretary of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation.

. . . the respondents were generally agreed that the Executive Secretary of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation was influential. He was influential because he is the outspoken Executive Secretary of a very powerful pressure group--the provincial Teachers' Federation (11:215).

TABLE VII

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS NAMED AS HAVING EXERTED
OR EXERTING INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER
TRAINING POLICY AT THE PRESENT TIME AND
IN THE RECENT PAST IN SASKATCHEWAN⁵

Name of Organization or Association	Number of times named (out of 20)*
Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation	18
Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association	17
College of Education	12
Saskatchewan Federation of Home and School Associations	12
University of Saskatchewan	10
Saskatchewan Teachers College	7
Department of Education	7
Superintendents of Schools	4
Provincial Cabinet	3
Western Canada Conference on Teacher Education	2
Legislative Assembly (some members)	2

*Organizations and associations named only once are not included
in this list.

The information in Table VII indicated which of the organizations were
reputed to be most influential in the settlement of the issue. Some
insight into the activities of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation
can be obtained from the following statement:

⁵See Housego (11:151).

The Teachers' Federation was the most active of the parties in organizing support for the policy of integration. They sought to be persuasive not only at formal committee meetings but also in private meetings with the trustees. They made formal presentations to the Minister of Education and his Department in the form of briefs; they also presented briefs to the Cabinet and urged the Cabinet to initiate the integration policy. When for a time it appeared that the anti-integration forces were about to win and the Cabinet was indecisive, the Teachers' Federation prepared to carry on a propaganda campaign across the length and breadth of the province in order to build up support at the "grass roots" level for a policy of integration. They carefully planned to use mass media to muster support for their cause (11:227-28).

The reason that the teachers and their organization undertook such an extensive campaign in support of integration is clear; the issue had been talked about for twenty years, and they were determined that it would not die now for lack of positive support.

Gaining Influence and Recognition

One of the six objects included in the Teachers' Federation Act was "to influence public opinion regarding educational problems" (1:3044). If it was to achieve its goals in teacher education, it was necessary for the Federation not only to appeal for the support of the general public, but also to secure representation on the bodies by which the decisions were made.

Submissions and discussion. Recognizing the ultimate responsibility of the provincial government for education, the Federation has consistently followed a policy of presenting frequent submissions to the Minister of Education and, on special occasions, to the Cabinet. By means of these submissions, supplemented by informal discussion and

elaboration, the Federation has attempted to explain and win support for its policies. The briefs presented have been forceful and direct. The 1939 brief stated, "To grant permits temporarily to untrained persons might appear on the surface a useful expedient to keep all schools in continuous operation, but actually such a policy would constitute a major disaster" (62:1). In 1942 the submission declared, "The teachers are charged with the grave responsibility of inculcating the democratic concept for the preservation of which ideals we are at war. No body of people can do this adequately if they are immature, have a sense of insecurity, and are poorly paid" (29:19). The brief in 1953 said, "Since 1942, we have been taking palliative measures to supply teachers for our schools. We contend that a more positive approach to the problem must be undertaken" (45:3). During the last twenty years the Executive has, with only minor exceptions, had annual meetings with the Minister and members of his Department, and biennial meetings with the Premier and Cabinet.

In addition to meetings with the government, representatives of the Federation have seized every opportunity to discuss their policies with other groups at conferences and conventions and to make presentations to special commissions. Federation speakers have annually addressed the provincial trustees' convention and many of the superintendency trustees' conventions. They have sought farmer and labor support through the Saskatchewan Occupational Group Council (39:6-7). For more than a decade the semi-annual meetings of the Saskatchewan Education Conference provided a forum for discussing educational affairs (63). Although teachers were unsuccessful in their appeal

for a royal commission on the teacher shortage (57:66), Federation representatives addressed the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, and were gratified to see the Commission's recommendations:

To raise professional standards in teaching, the Commission called for entrance requirements at Teachers Colleges equivalent to University entrance requirements. Eventually, the Commission recommended, both two- and four-year teacher training programmes should be centralized under the College of Education at the University of Saskatchewan (35:16-17).

When the Canadian Conference on Education was being prepared in 1958 and in 1962, the Federation played a major role in organizing the preparatory study sessions of the Saskatchewan section (36:17; 38:17-18). Since matters affecting teacher education and certification were among the topics discussed, participation in these conferences enabled Federation representatives to interpret the policies of the teachers' organization to the other groups in attendance.

Advisory committees. Since the Minister controlled certification and the University and Teachers Colleges controlled graduation, it was evident that teachers could most effectively influence teacher education policies by obtaining representation on appropriate advisory boards. The first move by the Federation in this direction was to urge upon the Minister of Education the establishment of a certification committee that would "have charge of the certification of all teachers in the province" (30:53). An advisory committee on certification was established by Order-in-Council in 1943, and one Federation representative was included on it. However, it did not meet the expectations the Federation had held for it. Its shortcomings were enumerated by the past president at the 1947 Council meeting:

The committee met exactly once this year and that was in protest when we saw in the paper that there was going to be a Normal School session for July and August While we had a lengthy and warm meeting, we were little better than a rubber stamp (53:7).

To this the secretary added:

We fought for many years getting the Certification Committee We are not going to sit and see it bypassed (53:8).

In conveying its grievance to the Minister the Executive used blunt and bitter language:

We would respectfully call the Minister's attention to the history of the setting up of this committee When the Minister was president of our organization, a brief was submitted to the government of the day on January 30, 1943, and the following was stated: ". . . We urge upon the government the establishment of a Certification Committee which . . . shall have charge of the certification of all teachers of the province." . . . We appointed you as our member on that committee. We had hoped with the appointment of this committee that we would have a voice in the certification of teachers. You will now be able to realize our concern at certificates being issued this fall to over 400 Normal School students without the advice or the approval of this committee We the teachers' organization, who are vitally concerned about the certification of teachers, were only advised after the decision was made (44:1-2).

The certification committee met three weeks later. Thereafter it met more frequently, and in 1953 the number of teacher representatives on the committee was increased to two (57:4).

Two other advisory committees that provided the Federation with an institutionalized channel for transmitting its views were the Advisory Committee to the College of Education and the Advisory Council to the Normal Schools (later Teachers Colleges). The former was established soon after the College was reorganized in 1946, the latter in 1951.

Reference has already been made to the First and Second Minister's

Committees for the study of integration of teacher education and to the Federation's representation on them. When The Teacher Education Act, 1964 was passed to provide for the new structure in teacher education in Saskatchewan, the Federation was allocated two places on the fifteen-member Board of Teacher Education (18:35).

Representation on other bodies. The right to name representatives to participate in two other organizations was of considerable importance to the Federation in its efforts to attain its teacher education goals. The first of these other two organizations was the Senate of the University of Saskatchewan. In response to teachers' requests in 1944 and 1945, the Federation was granted the right in 1946 to appoint "two members to the University Senate, one of which must be a high school teacher" (33:26). The other organization of importance was the Western Canada Regional Conference on Teacher Education. Including representatives of departments of education, colleges of education, normal schools, teachers colleges, and teachers' organizations in the four western provinces, and beginning in 1953, this annual conference was designed to "endeavor to solve the problems of varying teacher certification programs across Canada, varying requirements for well-known educational degrees and the mutual accreditation of provincial teacher education programs" (71:25).

In all the conferences and committees on which the Federation sought and gained representation, it came to realize that the right to participate was of far greater importance than the number of representatives to be named. Given vital issues and policies to espouse,

even one capable representative in a group could do much toward attaining the objectives of the S.T.F.

Encountering Obstacles

The Federation met two types of impediment to its efforts in teacher education. The first lay outside the organization, the second within.

Opposition from other groups. From time to time the organized efforts of teachers to attain their objectives were frustrated by the reluctance of the provincial government to enact the desired policy and legislative amendments. Instances of this kind of obstacle have been cited above. The other organization that occasionally provided major opposition to the teachers was the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association. The basis of this opposition in the field of teacher education is that while the teachers have been traditionally concerned with teachers' qualifications, the trustees have continuously emphasized the problem of teacher supply (11:174). The school trustees have always been preoccupied with the spectre of a teacher shortage. Even in 1925 they were discussing the problem at their convention:

At this session, they discussed a resolution in support of employing only teachers with first or second-class certificates. The matter was tabled on the basis that, while higher standards in education must always be strived for, the scarcity of teachers resulting from the elimination of third-class teachers would be too serious (16:16).

Illustrations of the opposing policies of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association in the field of teacher education can be found in each of the four sub-issues

previously discussed. During the two decades following the war, the teachers advocated improved screening of student teachers, abolition of short-term normal school courses, establishment of a two-year minimum, and integration of teacher education. When better screening of prospective teachers was being proposed toward the end of the war, a report in the Trustees Association magazine noted with hesitation, "Saskatchewan trustees, accustomed to the acceptance as normal school students, even before the war, of almost anyone who had completed high school, may find it difficult to adjust themselves to the idea of closely screening applicants for the teaching profession" (67:23). Two years after short-term normal courses had been discontinued, the provincial convention of school trustees resolved:

. . . that the Department of Education be requested to return to the policy of six weeks' Normal Course for teachers until such time as the teacher shortage has been relieved" (68:19).

and the following year:

. . . that a short term Normal Course be given to study supervisors to enable them to better direct the lower grades and understand school management (69:10).

The Federation's advocacy of a minimum two-year training programme for all teachers also encountered opposition by the trustees. In preparing its presentation to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, the Trustees Association asked school boards a series of questions, one of which was "Do you think the present one-year course of teacher-training is adequate?" Sixty-two boards answered "yes"; forty-six answered "no" (72:23). The following year, at the 1954 convention, the association adopted a resolution:

. . . that we recommend no increase in the initial one-year period of teacher-training (73:21).

On the integration issue the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association held steadfastly to its view:

Our prime concern with teacher education is the preservation, and to some extent the restoration, of public control over teacher preparation and certification (11:317).

Accordingly, the Association was outspoken in its opposition to the integration of teacher education under the College of Education.

In his study of the integration issue, Housego obtained from members of the Minister's Committee their perceptions of the positions taken by the various groups:

The Executive Secretary of the Trustees' Association believes the Teachers' Federation is interested in the control of teachers by teachers to whatever degree it is possible to attain He said the trustees are suspicious of the teachers' general motive to certificate its own membership. Thus, the Trustees' Association was concerned lest the Minister of Education lost any of the control of teacher training he traditionally exercised (11:185).

In the presence of this native suspicion of their motives, teachers often found it difficult to enlist any significant measure of trustee support for their proposals in the field of teacher education.

Building consensus among teachers. The Federation's policies on teacher education and certification did not receive spontaneous acceptance by all teachers. The 1937 Council considered a motion calling for teachers with second class certificates and twenty years of service to "be granted a certificate valid during their lifetime without further first class work on the part of the teacher" (48:11). The motion carried by a vote of thirty to thirteen. At the 1945

Council, councillors vigorously debated two opposing views: "standards . . . so raised that every teacher teaching in a school will have a degree", and "getting a better job for the teachers who never had the opportunity to proceed with university work in the last few years" (52:32). The position taken by the leaders in the Federation was summed up by one of the presidents:

We cannot ask for easier ways of getting higher certification; our standards must be the high standard required of other professions (4:3).

The Federation's programme to develop teacher consensus on its policy consisted essentially of an appeal for high standards, tempered with fairness to existing certificates and rewards for improved qualifications. The appeal for high standards was an appeal to the commonly held sentiments, aspirations and ideals of the teacher group--an appeal for professional status, for public recognition, for a realization of the full potential of the teaching task. The appeal was conducted through Council debates, through local studies and convention addresses, through teachers' rallies,⁶ and through newsletters and the magazine.

Fairness to holders of existing certificates was assured by the Federation through its insistence that a provision similar to the following clause be included in each revision of the certification regulations and strictly observed in their application:

⁶Teachers' rallies, the first of which was held in the Nipawin Superintendency in 1954, are a one-day (Saturday) meeting of the teachers in a superintendency branch to hear a panel of visiting consultants and to discuss a number of topics related to the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and to the educational system in the province. Resulting from local initiative, they are held annually in almost half the superintendency branches.

Nothing in these Regulations shall be interpreted as curtailing the teaching eligibility of persons to whom certificates were issued heretofore . . . (20:6).

This provision prevents retroactive application of new standards of certification.

Realizing that raised standards could best be obtained by providing financial recognition, the Federation adopted a policy that salary schedules should provide substantial differentials for additional years of teacher education. As a result of this policy and the operation of collective bargaining in establishing salary agreements, teachers began to receive tangible encouragement to complete the requirements for one or more university degrees. The prevailing differential in the maximum salary for one year and five years of teacher education increased from \$600 in 1945 (32:20), to \$4,000 in 1965 (64).

Conclusion

Problems in the field of teacher education and certification received the attention of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation especially between 1943 and 1963. During that period the Federation was concerned with three major problems. The first was the standards of admission that would govern entrance to the teacher training institutions; these standards were a means that could select suitable candidates for the profession and that could adjust the supply of teachers in response to the demand. The second problem was the determination of what would constitute a minimum programme of pre-service education; the Federation had advocated that a minimum of

two years beyond senior matriculation should be established immediately, and a minimum of four years as soon as possible. The third problem was the dual programme of teacher education in Saskatchewan; the Federation had urged that the programmes be integrated within the College of Education.

In seeking to attain its teacher education goals the Federation passed through several stages. Its first task was to recognize and clarify the goals it intended to pursue. Its next task was to procure the solidarity of teachers and to develop their identification with and commitment to the goals. Since it could not promulgate reforms on its own authority, the S.T.F. then had to obtain official recognition, and representation on a variety of influential bodies and committees--the media through which it could effectively encourage the adoption of its policies. Finally, it had to meet opposition and to overcome the objections that were raised in response to its proposals.

The Federation's teacher education activities occurred in circumstances that were different from those in which its legitimation or salary determination activities had taken place. In its legitimation activities, the teachers themselves were the only group that could claim a primary involvement and concern. In salary determination teachers and trustees were the two parties directly involved. Compared to these unilateral and bi-lateral situations, teacher education and certification represented multi-lateral involvement; primary responsibility and interest in this field were claimed by the provincial government, the university, the school trustees, and the teachers.

Accordingly, the teachers, in determining their objectives and activities, had to endeavor to recognize and accommodate the positions taken by all four.

II. ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR

The organizational behavior exhibited by the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in response to issues in the field of teacher education and certification may be analyzed with particular emphasis on one of the homeostatic activities: the problem-solving process. Bakke has outlined a set of steps that characteristically make up the problem-solving process and "a framework of criteria for evaluating the operation of the problem-solving process in any particular case" (2:61). These steps and criteria provide a useful guide for the analysis of the organizational behavior described in the first section of this chapter.

The Problem-Solving Process

The eleven steps in the problem-solving process might be applied to the attempts to solve a specific and limited problem faced by the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, or they might be used to analyze all the activities by which it attempted to reach its teacher education goals. The latter approach will be employed in the following pages; consideration will be given to the Federation's total programme in teacher education and certification. This approach, although not as neat and clear-cut as would be the consideration of a single sub-problem, provides a more realistic portrayal of the dynamics of the

S.T.F.

One of the Federation's objectives was to raise the status of the teaching profession. The field of teacher education and certification was one of the main avenues through which this objective could be attained. In its efforts to raise the status of the teaching profession by solving specific problems in teacher education, the Federation initiated activities related to each of the following steps.

Awareness. First of all it was necessary for the organizational agents to become aware of the situation. The members and leaders of the Federation were aware that teaching did not command the respect, prestige and support that teachers would have preferred. The members of the Executive and the Council appear to have recognized that the relatively low status of the teaching profession was to a considerable extent coincident with the relatively low level of teachers' academic and professional qualifications. Low standards of admission and certification were leading to rapid turnover of teaching personnel, loss of teachers to other occupations, lack of commitment to teaching as a career, and poor quality of teaching service. Federation members were also aware of the vicious cycle created when low standards were used to justify poor conditions of employment, which in turn necessitated low or lower standards. Evidence of their awareness of the problem--that to raise the status of their profession they must obtain higher standards in the admission and preparation requirements for teachers--is to be found in the submissions presented year after year to the government and to commissions, in the discussions and resolutions of

the inspectorate associations and the Council, and in the pronouncements of their leaders.

Exploration and structuring. The second and third steps in the problem-solving process are closely related. Through exploration, adequate and relevant information had to be gathered with respect to the cause, the character, and the impact of the situation, as well as the involvements, and the placement of required activities. Through structuring, agents of the organization were required to make accurate judgments with respect to each of these items.

The exploration and structuring carried on within the Federation dealt first of all with the cause of the existing low standards. Who were responsible for the situation and what were their objectives? Clearly the provincial government was responsible for the standards of entrance and certification, and its objective was apparently to raise standards only if such action would have no visible effect on teacher supply or would arouse little or no protest from school trustees and other significant elements of the electorate. What situational factors were responsible for existing standards and how amenable were they to modification? One group of situational factors was not amenable to modification; this included the general paucity of manpower during the war years, and the population growth which caused the enormous school expansion during the post-war years. Another group of situational factors was amenable to modification; this included certification regulations, conditions of employment for teachers, and the views and attitudes of the government and the school trustees. This latter group

also included the attitudes and aspirations of the teachers themselves.

The character of the situation was such that it presented the Federation with both a threat and a promise--a threat to its homeostasis if it failed to modify the situation and a promise of enhanced member capability and the commitment if it succeeded. The existence and acceptance of low standards, particularly in comparison with the established professions, had become chronic; improvement in standards would not be abrupt. The other groups primarily affected by the matter apparently accepted, either willingly or reluctantly, the existing state of affairs.

The impact of the problem on the Federation was such that, if satisfactorily solved, its organizational charter would likely be strengthened, its primary basic resource--people--would be enhanced in quality and capability, and its work-flow activities in other fields, such as salaries and professional development, would be considerably facilitated. If the problem were not satisfactorily solved, of course, the opposite conditions would probably prevail.

Within the organization the interests of certain sub-groups of members would be variously affected by or involved in the solution to the problem. Those with a high level of academic and professional qualifications would find their attainments given recognition if such qualifications were to become the criterion of professional competence. Conversely, however, those with qualifications that were formerly considered adequate would come to be regarded as sub-standard. Depending upon their own involvements, then, sub-groups of teachers could con-

tribute toward either solving the problem or making a solution difficult. Outside the organization the groups having greatest involvement in the solution to the problem were the government, the university, the school trustees, and the general public.

Placement of the problem by the organization involved exploration and structuring with respect to the activity systems required. Identification activities and thoughtways activities were needed to evolve and specify the policy of the organization--its 'high standards' approach--and to strengthen the organization by obtaining members' identification with and commitment to this kind of goal. Work-flow activities were required to launch and carry out the several steps of the Federation's programme--clarifying the goals, securing organizational solidarity, obtaining effective representation, and overcoming obstacles to its plans.

Two other activity processes were especially notable. Motivation activities, a sub-class of the control activities, were instrumental in eliciting the teacher behavior that was necessary if higher certification requirements were to be maintained. The success of activities designed to encourage teachers to accept the new regulations and to improve their qualifications has been previously noted.

The fusion process, one of the homeostatic activities, functions to maintain the integrity of the organization in the face of divergent interests of individuals, groups, and other organizations. One symptom of ineffectiveness in the fusion process would be "rebellious acts of individuals and groups against activity or standards of activity required of them by the organization" (2:61). That the fusion process

in the Federation functioned successfully is indicated by the general membership support of its teacher education policies. Intermittently, however, there were rumblings of dissatisfaction and expressions of outright rejection by some members. Examples of this negative reaction were found among some groups of teachers who held permanent first class certificates and who felt they were being unjustly coerced into working towards a higher grade of certificate. One such teacher bitterly stated:

Apparently the S.T.F. have forgotten who helped organize and establish their union. They too have forgotten the hardships (money, enrolment, etc., etc.) first class teachers had to put up with. Now their certificate is obsolete as is their salary rating (22).

Simplification. Following the revealing of the problem through exploration and structuring it was necessary for the problem to be reduced to and defined in terms amenable to practical and effective action. The Federation simplified the problem of enhanced status and higher standards by establishing three specific goals, each of which was logically justifiable and readily comprehensible: raised standards of admission, a longer minimum programme, and integration of teacher training institutions.

Search and cue. The fifth step in the problem-solving process involves the suggesting of a sufficient number of alternative strategies. From time to time there emerged within the Federation a variety of strategies for dealing with the problem of improvements in teacher education. The strategies proposed were what might be called the defeatist, the circuitous, and the direct. The first of these was the view that the area of teacher education and certification was the preserve of the

Department of Education or of some other group, and that in that field teachers should not aspire to a position of influence or control. The second was the view that change would be gradual, that several groups had a legitimate concern in this area, and that effective joint participation in the decision-making process was the most desirable and defensible role for the S.T.F. The third proposal was that the Federation should make a concerted frontal attack, demanding some immediate control of teacher certification. This type of proposal is illustrated by the following presentation to the 1941 Council:

. . . it being election year, I consider that if we are going to play fair by the teachers of the Province and assume the responsibilities that are rightly ours, that it is up to us to draw up a schedule of minimum demands, and back it up by setting-up of strike machinery.

1. The S.T.F. to be given some control in certification of teachers.

2. We present a scheme of superannuation, and ask for a definite answer in regard to their intentions with regard to that scheme.

3. We demand that our fees be set according to our desires. We should cut our demands down to as few as possible. Demands should be presented before or while the legislature is in session, and should be backed up so that the legislature knows exactly where it stands . . . (50:6).

Another aspect of search and cue is the importance of significant cues and the necessity that they not be ignored. To some extent this is a matter of judgment and timely decision, of knowing when to seize an opportunity and when to forego an apparent advantage. Accordingly, during the difficult post-war expansion it was judged by the Federation that it was preferable to condone the limited and temporary use of study supervisors and thus to retain its role of participating in the planning for the emergency, than to condemn everything that failed to meet its policies in their entirety and thus to lose its position of

limited partnership in teacher education.

A final aspect of search and cue is the necessity of exploring all available sources of alternatives. Activities that provided this kind of exploration included the studies carried on by the Federation's advisory committees on teacher education and certification, studies undertaken by its staff officers, and its participation in such groups as the Western Canada Regional Conference on Teacher Education.

Appraisal of alternatives. It was necessary for the Federation to examine each of the alternate strategies in light of the findings from exploration, the resources of the Federation itself, and the anticipated reactions of those whose interests would be affected by the contemplated strategy. It had to recognize first of all that the Minister of Education controlled teacher certification, a responsibility that no provincial government would be likely to abrogate. It had to recognize that its own desire for a voice in teacher certification, no matter how sincere, would be suspect by at least some of the others interested in the matter. It had to recognize that, even if it were offered complete control of certification, it had immediately available neither the resources nor the operating activity systems to accept such a task. And finally, it had to recognize that gradual rather than immediate change was dictated most of all by the preparedness of the teachers themselves to accept the changes that were introduced.

Choice and decision. In the light of the appraisal of the alternatives, the Federation chose the strategy that it considered would be ultimately the most efficient--the strategy of gradually extending the

sphere of influence in teacher education and certification. Such a strategy gave the Federation the time it needed to develop understanding, acceptance and support among its own members, and to prepare the resources and activities that might be needed in resolving the various specific sub-problems with which it would have to deal.

Mobilization. Over a period of years the S.T.F. had to justify and clearly define its specific objectives in teacher education. It had to decide upon the stages through which it would have to pass on its way to its general objective and it had to assign to its agents specific tasks in each stage. Thus, when it received formal recognition by and representation in another organization, it had to ensure that its representatives would be knowledgeable and competent, and would thereby repay the additional responsibility with which the teachers' organization had been entrusted. And it had to foster activities to ensure dissemination of ideas to and participation in policy-making by teachers, in order that there would be sufficient congruence between representatives' statements and members' wishes. Finally, adequate preparation had to be made to ensure that the active support of teachers would be available in organized fashion if, as almost happened in the integration debate in 1963, it became necessary to launch a campaign for public support of the teachers' proposals.

Response and action. Closely related to mobilization, this ninth step in the problem-solving process refers to the carrying out of the activities for which mobilization had occurred, so as to accomplish the specified objectives. It also refers to the modifications that must be

made in activities in the light of evolving experience in the process of problem-solving. Thus, the Federation's representative on the provincial certification committee bent his efforts toward the attainment of the effective influence that teachers had expected this committee to provide. Experience indicated, however, that at least two modifications would have to be sought; the number of teacher representatives would have to be increased, and the committee would have to be invariably consulted, rather than partially by-passed. Accordingly, activities to obtain these modifications were incorporated into the Federation's response and action.

Experience and judgment. Periodically it was necessary to review and evaluate the results of the efforts thus far exerted, to estimate the effect these efforts were having upon the organization, and to estimate the probable future consequences of these efforts. At one stage, for example, such assessment led to the conclusion that efforts to attain a two-year minimum programme of teacher education were being impeded by the divided nature of the teacher education programme. Consequently, additional emphasis was placed upon activities intended to bring about integration. On another occasion assessment of the fate of the report of the First Minister's Committee led to the formulation of a different approach for the teacher representatives to follow when the Second Minister's Committee was set up.

Closure or renewal. As a result of assessing past experience and making judgments as to the effectiveness of certain courses of action, it was finally possible to arrive at one of three conclusions: to con-

sider the problem solved, to restructure the problem and renew efforts, or to tackle new problems revealed by the experience in solving the previous one. Since the general problem of ensuring high standards in teacher education and certification is relative and continuous, the Federation was unable at any point to consider the problem to be solved. Rather, such standards had to be repeatedly assessed in the light of changes in the factors impinging upon them. In assessing its specific sub-problems, of course, the Federation was able to consider the integration problem closed, and the entrance requirements of grade twelve with a sixty per cent average attained. Similarly it was able in 1959 to restructure the integration problem and to renew its efforts toward this goal. New problems emerged from previous experience, for the integration or the length of the teacher education programme gave no assurance of the adequacy of its content.

Summary

Between 1943 and 1963 the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation engaged in a programme of activities to raise the status of the teaching profession by obtaining higher standards of teacher education and certification. In seeking higher standards the Federation initiated activities that can be described in terms of Bakke's problem-solving process. Having become aware of the relationship between professional status and members' qualifications, and having assessed the involvements and interests of the groups concerned with teacher education and certification, the Federation evolved three specific objectives and decided to strive to attain a position of influence in the decision-

making process in this field. Analysis of the Federation's teacher education activities indicates that particular emphasis was placed upon identification activities to formulate and disseminate its policies, work-flow activities to attain its goals, motivation activities to elicit teacher compliance with the new requirements, and operation of the fusion process to overcome reluctance or resistance on the part of certain individuals and groups.

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CHAPTER VI

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

I. THE ISSUE

Introduction

Most professional organizations exhibit an interest in two major areas: the economic welfare and social status of their members, and the competence of their members in practicing their profession. Canadian teachers' organizations have come to exhibit the same duality of interest.

The role of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in such economic welfare fields as salaries and superannuation was never in doubt: it was specifically dealt with at the first Council meeting. Its role in assuring the professional competence of its members took longer to define.

Today, the activities of the Federation tend to be grouped by its officers and members into four broad categories: those focusing upon teacher welfare, those concerned with teachers' professional development, those providing communication among members and with external groups, and those devoted to the general maintenance and administration of the organization. Activities in the latter two categories function to facilitate those in the former two categories. These four categories, although useful and appropriate at the Federation's present complex stage of development, would not have been employed in a description of the Federation's activities thirty, or even fifteen, years ago. In tracing the events which led to the present scope and structure of the

S.T.F. in the field of professional development, it is possible to identify three periods. The first of these, extending from its inception in 1933 to about 1950, was a period during which relatively little attention was given to professional development activities. The second period, covering the greater part of the 1950's, saw a growing awareness among teachers of the need for their organization to initiate and expand activities in this field. During the third period, which began about 1958, the Federation vastly increased its activities in the professional development field, and initiated a series of activities intended to review and re-define its role in the in-service professional development of its members.

Although the term professional development has found common usage among Saskatchewan teachers, its denotation and connotations remain frequently vague and occasionally ambiguous. In its broadest sense, the term is used in the Federation to include activities related to curriculum, teacher education and certification, research, educational innovations and trends, teacher ethics, and all types of in-service education. In its narrowest sense, it is used to refer to activities designed to maintain or improve the competence of practicing teachers. In the present study, the term professional development, unless specifically defined otherwise, will be used in this latter sense.

The Early Years

No one made, nor did anyone seem to expect, apologies for the Federation's concentration on economic welfare goals during the 1930's and 1940's. Reforms in salaries, contracts and superannuation were

imperative if teaching was to become an attractive vocation, and the Federation directed its time, its money and its personnel toward the attainment of these reforms.

Of course, some attempts were made to promote professional improvement on the part of teachers. One reason for the establishment of teachers' locals had been to provide the machinery for professional study groups. As early as 1935 teachers had been encouraged to choose such topics as the following for study projects in locals:

1. Topics from the field of method; - discussion of general principles; demonstration lessons; clever drill devices; lesson projects.
2. Testing and measuring educational results; - intelligence testing; standardized tests--survey, diagnostic, remedial; new type tests . . . (8:3).

Perhaps the major source of professional stimulation sponsored directly by the Federation during these early years was the magazine. By 1937 the Saskatchewan Bulletin had begun to include a variety of articles of interest to educators. For example, the March issue contained an item entitled "What Is Academic Freedom?" and a department on current affairs, as well as two articles by Saskatchewan educators: "The Use of Cultural Education," by Dr. Hilda Neatby, and "No Civilization without Creative Art," by Mr. E. Lindner (9). The following issue included articles on health and fitness, audio-visual education, and a new plan of teaching being employed at Yorkton; it also included a new department, "Book Reviews" by Dr. S. R. Laycock, which was to continue as a Bulletin feature for more than a quarter-century (10). One of the standing committees maintained by the Federation during the first fifteen years of its existence was the advisory committee on curriculum.

Although it pursued studies of existing course outlines and proposed revisions in them, it was not too successful in involving large numbers of teachers in curriculum study and revision; nor was this its primary purpose. Perhaps during the early years the main contribution of this committee to the in-service programmes that would later emerge was the development of a close liaison with the officials of the Department of Education, a liaison that became the basis of much of the co-operative effort between the two organizations that later characterized many of the professional development projects.

Notwithstanding these activities, prior to 1950 professional development was not considered to be a major field of endeavor for the S.T.F. In a list of twenty-two achievements of the S.T.F., prepared in 1937, three dealt with scholarships and certification, one listed standing committees (two-thirds of which could not be described as including professional development), and the other eighteen referred to teacher welfare or general educational reforms (13). The subjects of Council debate and the topics for Council group discussions, in 1950 and in 1951, show a similar preoccupation with teacher welfare and an absence of concern with professional development (12:15; 15).

A notable professional development activity was the establishment in 1946 of teachers' institutes. In October of that year the Federation provided teachers with the following information:

It is the intention of the department this year to establish institutes in about twenty larger units. The general plan is that the superintendency will be divided into convenient groups and that these groups will hold one-day institutes. The institute, in turn, will be broken down into a number of locals. The main purpose of the institute is to provide for professional growth and is a very commendable effort in this field.

The establishing of institutes has received the endorsement of the federation and is, in fact, to be a joint effort of the department and the federation . . . (11:29).

As the notice indicated, the institute was intended to be a project of the Department of Education and the Federation. For the most part, however, the institutes became the responsibility and the concern of the Department, while the Federation attempted to integrate the in-service programmes of the institutes with the programmes of the teachers' locals and conventions. In 1951 the secretary reported to the Council:

We have set up three experimental units this year in Swift Current, Eston-Elrose and Blaine Lake to try and integrate the work of the Convention, the Institute and the Local and to bring all teachers of these areas into active partnership not only in the work of their organization but in the direction of local educational development (15:39).

Sensing a Need

During the decade of the 1950's the members of the Federation became increasingly aware of the possibility of raising the status of the teaching profession through a programme of professional development. One of the first indications that a change in emphasis might emerge within the Federation was included in a statement by the secretary to the 1950 Council meeting:

In the first part of our existence we have been faced with the problem of meeting the protective side of the teacher problem. But we are growing up and I think that in the future we are going to have to devote more time and effort to the educational side of our programme, not only the protective side . . . (14:6).

The following year the Federation distributed to locals for use in their study projects a kit on the teaching of arithmetic (32). The advisory committee on curriculum, as one of its projects, began "to involve

teachers in curriculum planning" (16:7). From 1952 to 1954 a special committee, established to study the philosophy that did and should underlie the Federation's activities, conducted a series of studies and reported annually to the Council. One of the questions it attempted to answer was, "Should our Federation be primarily concerned with the improvement of education in this province, the improvement of the economic and social status of its members, or both?" (16:42).

When its studies were completed the committee had concluded:

1. The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation should have as its major concern the improvement of education generally in this province.
2. It should continue to be concerned with the betterment with the economical and social status of its members.
3. We must become even more concerned with the improvement of educational standards . . . (17:9).

These principles appear to have guided the Federation in its selection of activities during the succeeding twelve years.

Another project sponsored jointly by the Federation and the Department of Education was a curriculum workshop, first held at the conclusion of the university summer session in 1953. The Federation budgeted two thousand dollars for the three-day workshop, and made arrangements for at least one teacher from each superintendency to attend (3). The president reported on the workshop at the next meeting of Council:

From all reports the workshop was a very worthwhile project. It was our hope that it would be a means of stimulating a larger number of teachers and lay people to think constructively about curriculum planning and revision, which would automatically result in a more satisfactory curriculum. It is our opinion that the workshop accomplished this objective to a marked degree (18:3).

The success of this venture led to the sponsoring of a similar workshop

in 1955 (2) .

The officers of the Federation continued to direct the attention of Council to the need for further expansion in the professional development field. In 1955 the secretary said:

. . . we must now devote more and more of our time to the professional growth and the professional improvement of our teachers. We must plan undertakings that will improve the quality of teaching . . . (19:37) .

The following year the president stated:

Through our Federation we must devise such in-service training programmes to keep our members constantly in touch with the newest techniques in learning and with recent research in the educational field. It is encouraging to discover many such programmes already in practice in many of our superintendencies (7:12) .

During the summer of 1957 the S.T.F. took a lead in sponsoring a three-week leadership course for school principals. A few weeks later it co-sponsored a seminar on the use of Cuisenaire materials in the teaching of arithmetic. That seminar was followed by the establishment of several experimental classes at the primary grade level, the experiment being directed in large measure by a staff member of the S.T.F. (20:6-7) . Both projects met with immediate teacher approval. A resolution, submitted to and passed by the next session of Council, directed "that the Principals' Course be continued and that the Executive investigate the possibility of arranging for further courses of educational importance" (20:111) . In previous years Federation involvement in such projects had been mainly nominal. With the two projects in 1957, however, the rapid incursion of the Federation into the field of professional development was underway.

Expansion and Evaluation

Between 1958 and 1965 the Federation expanded its professional development activities to such an extent that, by the latter date, its expenditures were almost equally divided between professional development (broadly defined) on the one hand, and teacher welfare on the other.

Organizing for expansion. Early in 1958 the Federation established a new committee--the advisory committee on professional standards. This committee was expected "to foster professional growth in all members of the organization" and to be responsible for planning and evaluating the Federation's in-service training activities (29:1). About the same time a reorganization took place within the Federation's administrative staff with the result that one staff officer began devoting a major portion of his time to activities coming within the purview of the professional standards committee. During 1958-59 workshops were arranged in several areas to provide teachers with assistance in the teaching of art and science (29:4). In many respects these workshops were trial runs, for the Federation was attempting to determine what kinds of services teachers desired, and whether the attendance would justify the expenditures involved. Teacher reaction to the new professional development activities was one of spontaneous approval. Attendance was in every instance as good as had been expected and requests for similar seminars in other subjects and at other centres began to be received by the Federation Office. The secretary assessed the response of teachers in this way:

I think there are three reasons for this impetus in professional development. Without doubt, the one heading the list is the improved economic circumstances of teachers. Teachers not only have the means to pursue this additional study but the improved economic status has given an impetus for better work. Another contributing factor has been the continued upgrading of standards Last, but not least, has been the continued emphasis which your organization has placed on the need for high quality teachers and our exhortation to our membership to improve the quality of classroom teaching (20:11).

Another occurrence, one which perhaps both contributed toward and resulted from the increased activity in the professional development field, was the emergence of special subject councils. The first two of these, formed by the collegiate principals and by the teachers of French, had become affiliated with the S.T.F. in 1956. By 1962 the number had increased to twelve, and by 1965 there were fifteen special subject councils (30:9-10).

The Fyfe project. The first in-service training project to cover the province and to extend beyond a few weeks in length was the high school English seminars launched in 1959. C. T. Fyfe, long recognized as one of Saskatchewan's leading teachers of English, was employed by the Federation for two years on a full-time basis to conduct seminars on the teaching of English in grades seven to twelve. Seminars were held in every superintendency in the province (26:24-27). One measure of the acceptance of these seminars was the resolution adopted by the 1961 Council:

Whereas seminars such as those directed by Mr. C. T. Fyfe have been well received by teachers, and
Whereas we believe that such S.T.F. sponsored seminars promote the best interest of the teaching profession,
Be It Resolved that the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation continue sponsorship of seminars and that such seminars be

held for teachers of various high school subjects and also for teachers of elementary grades (21:116).

An assessment of the success of the project concluded:

. . . two factors accounted for the excellent reception of this in-service professional growth project. First, Mr. Fyfe's experience in English as a teacher and his wide knowledge of English problems are equalled by his sincere desire to be of service to his profession. Second, the public relations programme which paved the way was carefully planned both on a provincial and local basis (22:32).

Additional activities. The two-year programme of English seminars was replaced in 1961 by a two-year programme of seminars and workshops on remedial reading. As had been done to conduct the English seminars, the S.T.F. employed on a full-time basis an outstanding consultant--Hildred Rawson--to conduct the remedial reading project. Whereas the English project focused upon grades seven to twelve, the reading project focused upon grades one to six. As the project neared completion the S.T.F. president said:

I feel that this has been our most successful in-service programme over the last two years. If letters from teachers, superintendents and supervisors are any measure of success, then certainly her programme has been eminently successful (24:3).

During the early 1960's the Federation also began a study of programmed instruction. The professional standards committee devoted a considerable portion of its time to the topic; a two-day conference on programmed instruction was sponsored and financed by the S.T.F.; a display of programmed materials and a discussion group to consider their possibilities were a feature of the annual Council meeting; and a monograph on the principles of programmed instruction was prepared and distributed by the Federation in co-operation with the teachers' organiza-

tions in the neighboring provinces (23:32). These activities led to the conclusion that:

The role of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in programmed learning should be to obtain, investigate, analyze and evaluate materials and to inform teachers, boards and parents of their value (23:13).

In addition to a study of programmed instruction, an investigation was made into the Newcastle experiment in reading, and the action research activities and the experimental projects related to the Cuisenaire system of arithmetic were continued.

In the summer of 1961 the Federation planned, sponsored and presented a summer school half-class designed especially for holders of permanent first class certificates, to complement a half-class they had taken many years before. The registration for the class was 185, more than double the number that had been expected (23:32). The following summer the Federation offered three short courses:

A one-day course in Cuisenaire was held with more than 200 in attendance. A four-day reading programme was conducted by Mrs. Rawson with some 300 in attendance. A five-day P.S.S.C. Physics workshop was held under the direction of Dr. Gordon Shepherd, attended by some 100 teachers (24:36).

In selecting the summer courses it would sponsor the Federation developed certain guidelines for itself: courses would generally not be for credit toward a degree or a higher teaching certificate; they would be sufficiently varied to meet the diverse interests of Saskatchewan teachers; and they would be designed not to compete with university courses but to cover fields not included in existing summer class offerings.

The burgeoning years: 1963 through 1965. Although the involvement of the Federation in professional development and curriculum activities

was expanded considerably after 1963, much of its work was carried on in close co-operation with other interested organizations such as the university and the Department of Education. The difficulty in distinguishing the precise nature of the Federation's contribution in such co-operative endeavors was identified in a professional development report:

Due to the close liaison between the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and the Curriculum Branch of the Saskatchewan Department of Education, it is not possible to report on activities which are solely the responsibility of either the Federation or the Department. The Professional Development Staff of the Federation have met with the Director and Assistant Director of the Curriculum Branch to review activities being undertaken at present and those proposed for the future. It is hoped that these meetings will be continued . . . (28:1).

The Federation's professional development activities continued to be directed toward new ideas in education and toward areas not being adequately explored by other organizations involved in Saskatchewan education. In March, 1963 the S.T.F. sponsored a provincial seminar on action research, supplemented by two regional workshops in the autumn of 1963 and four in 1964. The purpose of these sessions was "to prepare teachers to analyse and evaluate innovations so that they may be better able to make classroom decisions and design local programmes" (28:3). Also in March, 1963 the Federation co-operated in sponsoring a one-day television seminar at which the participants saw a closed circuit programme and heard Dr. Charles Siepmann of New York discuss the place and value of television programmes in the schools (24:4). Staffs of schools were encouraged to experiment with local projects. Assistance was given to French language projects that were

undertaken by local teacher groups at Willow Bunch, Lloydminster and Blaine Lake (24:5). Teachers were appointed to work on the development of new courses in physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, health and physical education. A number of teachers were selected and sent at Federation expense to attend seminars at Canadian and American universities on new developments in education. These teachers then acted as consultants at workshops, short courses, and regional meetings held throughout Saskatchewan in the succeeding months.

The first major project sponsored by the Federation in 1964 was the Saskatchewan Reading Conference, which "brought together one hundred thirty teachers, administrators, supervisors and superintendents who had an opportunity to listen to specialists in the field of reading" (25:6). Later in the year the Federation participated in the Provincial Conference on Libraries, sponsored the School Libraries Standards Conference, and co-sponsored courses on programmed instruction and the direct teaching of French (30:1-3). During the summer the Federation sponsored a one-week course for supervisory assistants, one-week courses at three centres on the division system, one-week courses at two centres on high school and elementary school mathematics, and two-week courses on physics and biology (30:5). In November, 1964 the Federation joined with the teachers' organizations in the other three western provinces in sponsoring a conference on team teaching (31). Finally, during 1964-65 the S.T.F. arranged a series of regional leadership meetings. Intended to be held annually in all ten regions of the province, these meetings were expected to fulfill five purposes:

1. To make available recent information on problems, trends and S.T.F. organization to teachers who are in a leadership position
2. To ensure that the coverage is complete and regular by having these meetings once a year.
3. To develop potential leadership.
4. To obtain a forum for discussion of issues before decisions have to be made at Council
5. The administrative staff would have a planned program to meet regularly with 500 to 600 of the key people in the field (5:1).

In the first series of regional leadership meetings three of the topics examined were an accreditation proposal formulated by the S.T.F. advisory committee on examinations, proposals for implementing the division system in Saskatchewan, and the report of the special committee on professional development.

The policy committee's report. The surge of activity in professional development led teachers and councillors to a more careful examination of the role of the S.T.F. At the 1963 Council two of the resolutions that were adopted indicated the desire of teachers that adequate evaluation procedures be commenced:

Be It Resolved that, in view of the fact that the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation seems committed to a policy of employing specialists for consultative services, that the Executive attempt an objective evaluation on a scientific basis of any further programmes of this nature.

Whereas expenditures on Curriculum and Professional Development are becoming a sizable part of our annual S.T.F. budget, and,

Whereas there seems to be no clear cut policy regarding the part we are prepared to play in this field,

Be It Resolved that the Executive establish a committee to bring recommendations to the next annual meeting of Council suggesting scope and policy with regard to Curriculum and Professional Development Programmes (24:32-33).

Such a committee was duly established and its interim report was presented to the 1964 Council (27).

In its report the professional development policy committee reviewed the growth of the Federation's professional development activities, made estimates of the resources being devoted to these activities over a fifteen-year period, and suggested the general course that such activities might follow in future years.

The committee studied Federation expenditures in 1948, 1953, 1958 and 1963. As a result of its study it was able to estimate the proportion of the total Federation expenditures that was being devoted to professional development work in each of the years under review.¹ In 1948 the proportion was ten per cent; in 1953 the proportion was twenty-five per cent; in 1958 it was forty per cent; and in 1963, fifty per cent. Moreover, these percentages were applicable to budgets that during the fifteen years were increasing substantially in size. The total amount of the professional development expenditures in the years studied is shown in Table VIII (27:6).

Following its estimate of expenditures the committee proceeded to record its observations and conclusions regarding present and future professional development functions of the S.T.F. Although the report dealt with all activities that would be included in a broad definition of the term professional development, only those activities which would fall within a narrow definition of the term (that is, in-service activities to enhance the teacher's competence) are strictly relevant to the

¹It is important to note, however, that the committee was studying professional development in its broadest sense (see page 211 above). Thus, its estimates included expenditures related to pre-service education, in-service education, curriculum, innovations, special subject councils, research, scholarships, and representation on public bodies.

TABLE VIII
PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES BY
THE SASKATCHEWAN TEACHERS' FEDERATION,
SELECTED YEARS²

Year	Estimated Proportion of Budget Devoted to Professional Development	Total Federation Expenditures	Amount of Pro- fessional Development Expenditures
1948	10%	\$ 53,486.	\$ 5,348.
1953	25	109,852.	27,463
1958	40	249,570.	99,828
1963	50	367,044.	183,522

present discussion.

On the topic of in-service education the committee offered the following comments:

Since in-service education has no meaning except as teachers see a need for it, it must, of necessity, be as close to the local school system as possible. The professional organization plays a secondary role such as the University and the Department do in providing consultants, ideas, and a limited amount of research and materials for local in-service programs.

For teachers as a whole, the profession plays a primary role. Thus, our in-service work would be at the provincial level or regional level and it is conceivable that it might be at the inter-provincial level

The purposes of in-service education are to counteract obsolescence and bring teachers up to date and to give teachers confidence and competence in making professional decisions (27:7).

In the matter of educational innovations the committee viewed the Fed-

²See footnote, page 224.

eration's role as one of effective dissemination:

The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation is only one of the institutions which can make sure that teachers know about new ideas and the dissemination of these is probably an important function. Recent research has shown that the professional organization is far superior to any other institution in dissemination of new ideas. Teachers have the greatest contact with one another and more readily accept new ideas when suggested by a colleague.

It might be the function of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation to share in the evaluation of new ideas or at least make sure that new ideas are evaluated in the classroom situation. Some help could be provided for teachers on methods of evaluating new ideas

The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation should encourage teachers to be creative and give every support to teachers who are searching for solutions to their problems.

It is possible that in rare circumstances the profession could be involved in designing a program where there is a need and no other institution is working in the area (27:8).

Finally, the committee recommended that the Federation continue its activities intended to develop leadership and a professional attitude among its members. Teachers should be able to provide leadership with respect to the direction that future educational developments should take. Each teacher should also acquire a greater independence, confidence and competence "in making decisions which he feels will provide the best education for his students" (27:9).

The committee recommended that, if the Federation is fully to realize its professional development functions, a variety of procedures and activities should be initiated or continued. The use of permanent advisory committees should be continued, but their role in professional development should be restricted to broad goals. The Federation should plan to sponsor at least one conference on a professional topic at the

provincial level each year. In addition, it might arrange regional level conferences and seminars on suitable topics. Occasionally it will be economical and effective, as was the case with the conference on team teaching (31), to join with the other western teachers' organizations in sponsoring an interprovincial meeting. Short courses, usually one or two weeks in length, should be sponsored in response to teachers' needs and requests; however, they "should not replace six week University courses nor should they attempt to cover the content background of a subject matter field" (27:10). To provide consultants for in-service programmes, the Federation should use its own staff members, should occasionally employ outstanding consultants for a specific subject area when no other organization is providing such a service, should draw upon personnel from the university and the special subject councils, and should continue to send selected teachers away for special courses to prepare them for leadership roles upon their return. Communications media to keep teachers informed are an essential feature of Federation activities; the magazine, the newly-established monthly newspaper, and the many special subject newsletters and publications must continue to meet this need.

The committee was unable to define a specific role for the Federation in educational research. It agreed that the S.T.F. should encourage teachers to carry out experiments and projects, and should give advice and assistance when requested to do so. The Federation should also continue its practice of employing part-time research assistants during the summer months to engage in specific research projects. As to the type of research with which the Federation should

be concerned and the desirability of its direct involvement in the research field, however, the committee recommended additional study and deliberation. One task for the S.T.F. was clearly the provision of an essential aid for teacher experimentation and action research--adequate library materials. The committee stated:

The Federation library should not duplicate the material in the University library which is available to teachers, or material which should be available in local professional libraries. It might be that the most useful service the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation can provide is to copy articles and reports that are recent so that teachers may use them at their leisure. Providing teaching aids is not considered as the function of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (27:10).

The final suggestions of the committee concerned the annual meeting of the Council. The committee proposed that Council resolutions of a professional development nature "should be costed and contain some substantiation" (27:13). It also proposed a change in the format of the four-day Council meeting:

. . . one day or part of a day could be devoted to a topic of general educational interest at which any teacher could be present. Teachers who would be free at Easter and might be attending a special subject conference could also be present on this day. In this way the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation could provide an outstanding educator or panel of educators to be heard by large numbers of people interested in the topic (27:13).

With this suggestion the committee concluded its interim report and awaited the responses of teachers as the report was submitted to and studied at the Council meeting and at regional leadership meetings throughout the province.

Conclusion

Within the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, activities designed

to improve the competence of practicing teachers were virtually nonexistent until 1950. During the next decade teachers experienced a growing awareness of the need for their professional organization to accept a participating role in this field. Between 1950 and 1958 the Federation sporadically engaged in a number of in-service projects together with other sponsoring organizations.

After 1959 there was a surge of interest and involvement at all levels of the Federation in a variety of in-service projects, conferences and seminars. This type of activity came to be identified by the term professional development. During the early 1960's the Federation tended to follow a somewhat random and uncertain approach in the professional development field, working out its role as it went along and as it sounded out teacher reaction and opinion. Despite the apparent lack of clarity in its professional development objectives the Federation by 1963 had increased and revised its expenditures so that its resources were being almost equally divided between 'professional' activities on the one hand, and 'welfare' activities on the other.

Between 1963 and 1965 the Federation initiated a series of evaluation activities intended to assess and re-define its professional development role. These activities led to a number of tentative conclusions. Federation involvement in the in-service improvement of teacher competence was desirable and should be continued. However, each new venture should henceforth be preceded by careful planning, assessment and preparation; each proposal should be studied in terms of its probable cost and value; and professional development activities should be planned within a framework of guidelines and general

principles. Such a framework was tentatively formulated by the policy committee, and would be revised by meetings of the leaders and the members of the S.T.F.

II. ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR

The series of decisions that led the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation into the field of in-service professional development also initiated activities to modify the image of the organization's unique wholeness, to expand its basic resources, and to actualize the new concept of the Federation's role.

A New Image

People judge an organization by its activities as well as by its aims. Thus, during the first fifteen years of its existence, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, despite its stated statutory objectives, was perceived by its members and by outsiders as being an organization preoccupied with the economic welfare of teachers; for its activities were almost exclusively in that field.

As the members and leaders began to guide the Federation into a greater number of professional development activities, the organizational charter--the image of the organization's unique wholeness--began to change. Its name, its symbols, the location of its central office, its staff officers remained substantially the same. Since these were in many ways the most visible of its features, the changes taking place in the Federation were all the more subtle, particularly to the outsider whose acquaintance with the organization was at best

a casual one. But there were changes taking place in many of the identifying features of the organizational charter of the S.T.F. Its function in relation to its environment and its participants was becoming broader and more pervasive. Its major goals were technically unchanged, but in practice certain of its goals that had lain dormant were beginning to receive active attention. Its policies were expanded to include features (such as the promotion of in-service improvement and the encouragement of experimentation and innovation) to which the Federation had formerly given only limited attention. The Federation and its members began to develop and experience new patterns of reciprocal rights and obligations with respect to each other. Teachers had become accustomed to depending upon the resources of the school system, the Department of Education, the university, or some other external organization for assistance in developing their professional competence. And over the offerings of such external organizations the teacher had little control. As their professional organization became involved in offering short courses and consultative services, teachers began to experience greater freedom in requesting the assistance they required and in criticizing the assistance given if it failed to meet their needs. In the same way, the Federation began to recognize the necessity of providing the kinds of activities and services its members were requesting; and to the extent it was able to comply with these requests, it could expect to receive the loyalty and support of the members so served. A new pattern of reciprocal rights and obligations also developed between the Federation and persons and organizations in the external environment. For example, the Federation required the

co-operation of and acceptance by the Department of Education and the university if it was to play an effective role in in-service education. Concurrently these organizations began to recognize the value of the Federation's approval and support in having their plans and projects accepted and implemented by the teacher personnel in the schools.

The new image of the S.T.F. was not established without some difficulty. Some teachers, and some members of other organizations, felt that the Federation was invading a field that had traditionally been the responsibility of the Department and the university. Some members of the Federation questioned the increases in teachers' fees that were being required to finance the new activities. For the most part, however, the involvement of the teachers' organization in the professional improvement of its members was accepted by the teachers, other educationists and the general public as being a commendable and desirable move. And as these significant groups of individuals became aware of the change, the revised organizational charter of the S.T.F. became more firmly established.

Increasing the Basic Resources

While identification activities were developing the organizational charter, perpetuation activities were being initiated to increase the Federation's supply of basic resources. The sub-classes of perpetuation activities to receive greatest attention were personnel, service, and finance.

Personnel activities. People were the most important basic re-

source in the Federation's professional development activities. The first group of people to be considered were those "presently interacting with each other as agents or members of the organization" (1:40). Included in this group were first of all the administrative staff officers of the S.T.F. It is not without significance that the expansion in professional development activities began at the same time (in 1958) that the number of staff officers devoting the major portion of their time to these activities was increased to two. Until this action was taken, the Federation's activities in this field had understandably been relegated to a place low on the list of priorities for an administrative staff that was already overburdened with other concerns. The further expansion of professional development activities led to the decision early in 1965 to employ yet another staff officer to assume duties in this area. Even greater expansion was required in the Federation's clerical and stenographic staff. The general staff of nine persons in 1958 had been expanded to seventeen by 1963 (27:6). In addition to the Federation's administrative and clerical staff, the teachers serving on the many advisory committees of the S.T.F. play an important role in the planning and executing of the Federation's projects. Of greatest importance, of course, are the abilities, predispositions and self-conceptions of the teacher-members of the organization. The success of the Federation's professional development activities was dependent most of all upon the acceptance and support displayed by the large majority of members.

Another significant group of people were those who were not agents or members of the organization but who were "presently inter-

acting in essential ways with agents or members in carrying on operations of the organization" (1:40). The success of the S.T.F. in attaining a role in in-service activities could be attributed in considerable measure to the sympathetic and co-operative attitude of persons occupying significant positions in other educational organizations. As an example one might cite the reception given the Federation's plans and aspirations by a majority of Departmental officials. In many instances their favorable predisposition could be traced to the fact that they gained a basic appreciation of what the S.T.F. was trying to accomplish from their own previous involvement in the organization. In 1947, for example, the Minister of Education--himself a past president of the Federation--commented:

It is rather interesting to note that all the senior members of the staff of the Department of Education at one time or another held positions in the Teachers' Federation (4:1).

He had reference specifically to his deputy minister, the director of school administration, the chief superintendent, the director of teacher training, the director of guidance and the director of curricula. A similar pattern still tends to prevail; teachers who have attained leadership positions in the professional organization frequently are subsequently appointed to the staff of the Department. This is not by any means to suggest that such persons slavishly accept any and all Federation proposals. Indeed, some of the most spirited educational controversies in the province have involved representatives of the Department and the Federation. The point worth noting is that, partly as a result of their backgrounds, most Departmental officers have a clear understanding of what the Federation is and what objectives it

is striving to attain. As a result, communication between the organizations takes place freely and directly, without the necessity of preliminary exchange and familiarization.

Service activities. This sub-class of perpetuation activities functions to provide adequate resources in terms of materials, equipment and plant. One indication of the extent of the service activities of the S.T.F. central office can be obtained from the number of pieces of mail it despatched in each of several calendar years. In 1946, a total of 7,395 pieces of mail was sent out. By 1948 the number had increased to 17,752. In 1953 it was 115,021 (18:48). By 1959 the total had grown to 180,000 (22:7). Corresponding increases were recorded in the supplies consumed. In 1961 the secretary reported:

Expenditure for paper increased 45% last year; postage increased by 56%; telephone and telegraph spendings by 40% (21:10).

But perhaps the most significant increase in expenditure was on the central office plant. From 1934 to 1957 the Federation had rented space in various Saskatoon office buildings. In 1952, with a view to the ultimate construction of its own office building, the Federation had purchased the property known as "Crescent Court" (16:24). By the end of 1957, construction of a new two-storey \$250,000 office had been completed, and ceremonies marking its official opening were held in January, 1958.

Finance activities. The adoption of new policies, the employment of additional staff, and the increased demands for materials and supplies resulted in even larger annual budgets for the S.T.F. Since

almost all its revenue came from the teachers themselves, a series of finance activities was periodically undertaken to inform teachers of trends in Federation expenditures and of the need for additional financial support. These activities included the use of financial statements, graphs and interpretive presentations at meetings of the Council, fall conventions, locals, teachers' rallies and regional meetings. As a result of these activities, the approval of the teachers was obtained for a series of increases in the Federation fee. The fee had been established at a flat rate (as contrasted with the former percentage-of-salary basis) in 1954. The amount of the fee was twenty-four dollars per year. In 1958 the fee was increased to thirty-six dollars, and in 1962 to forty-eight dollars. Thus by 1965 the annual budget of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation was almost one-half million dollars.

A departure from its usual budgetary procedures occurred in 1956. To finance the new office building the Federation decided to sell debentures, redeemable at the end of five or ten years. The sale was restricted to S.T.F. members. Such was the response that in a matter of weeks the sale had been oversubscribed.

Implementing the New Image

It has been noted that a series of identification activities resulted in a revision of the organizational charter of the S.T.F. To implement and actualize this new image of the organization's unique wholeness, a series of work-flow activities was required.

Sub-classes of the work-flow activities include those related

to production and those related to distribution. A model frequently employed by the Federation in analyzing its professional development activities consists of three phases: design, evaluation, and dissemination (6,28). These three phases are roughly analogous to the production and distribution activities in Bakke's concept of the social organization (1:54). Design and evaluation together constitute production. Dissemination is equivalent to distribution.

With regard to the design phase in educational research, innovation, curriculum development, and professional growth, the Federation has engaged in activities that would foster, stimulate, encourage, and advise, rather than in activities that would initiate and carry out the designing process. In some cases the Federation's role in the design phase has been one of support, through the provision of finances or personnel; and in rare cases its role has been one of initiation, particularly in a field which has been largely ignored by other groups. Similarly, in the evaluation phase the Federation's role has been one of providing its members with materials and experiences that would enhance their ability to assess and evaluate the usefulness of the designed proposals, projects and innovations in their own situations, rather than one of participating directly in the evaluation activities.

It is in the dissemination phase that the Federation has found its major role. On the premise that the dissemination of ideas, research findings and innovations in education can be carried out most effectively by the teachers' professional organization, the S.T.F. has decided that the majority of its work-flow activities in the professional development field should be distribution activities. Accordingly,

it has greatly expanded its publications department in order to publish a new style of professional journal, a monthly newspaper, and dozens of newsletters, monographs, and periodicals on behalf of its affiliated special subject councils. It has substantially increased opportunities for direct contact among teachers at conventions, institutes, locals, seminars, rallies and regional meetings. It has increased the number of staff officers and consultants upon whom teachers may call for assistance. And it has provided more elaborate and comprehensive library services as an aid to its members in their efforts to promote their own professional growth.

Summary

Between 1958 and 1965 the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation initiated identification activities that resulted in an extension of its organizational charter. The effect of this extension was to make the total programme of the Federation more congruent with the objects that had originally been prescribed for it by statute. To provide the resources required for the work-flow activities that would actualize the expanded organizational charter, a variety of perpetuation activities was undertaken. In particular these activities provided increases or improvements in capital, materials, plant and personnel.

As the Federation gradually explored, reviewed and defined its role in the professional development field, it came to direct the bulk of its efforts toward the stimulation of professional growth activities among its members and the dissemination within the professional group of ideas, improvements and developments in education.

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CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

The preceding four chapters have been devoted to a description of the behavior of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in response to four issues and an analysis of that behavior in terms of the elements in Bakke's concept of the social organization. In addition to being drawn from areas that are representative of the organizational behavior of the Federation, the four critical issues selected received emphasis during different time periods in the thirty-year history of the S.T.F.

Attention has been given to the classes of activities essential for an organization's survival and goal-attainment. It remains to consider the final feature of Bakke's concept. This feature, the bonds of organization, "relates these activity systems to each other, to other parts of the organization, and to the whole" (1:68). Providing a brief summary of the four issues and formulating a description of the bonds of organization are the purposes of the present chapter.

II. THE FOUR ISSUES

Legitimation

The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation attained legitimacy as a result of three decisions: the decision of a meeting of representative teachers in 1933 to establish the organization, the decision in 1934

by local bodies of teachers to become a part of the new organization, and the decision by the legislature in 1935 to grant the Federation statutory recognition and compulsory membership. During the first two years of its existence the S.T.F. placed major emphasis upon activities designed to develop, legitimize and perpetuate the image of its unique wholeness.

Salary Determination

If teachers were to exert greater influence with respect to the economic and professional status of teaching, they would have to attain the right to participate as a group in the decisions about the remuneration to be paid. Although teachers had been anxious to obtain this right for many years, it was the disastrous effect of the depression of the 1930's that made them recognize its crucial importance. The efforts of Saskatchewan teachers to decide upon, first, the method by which their salaries should be determined, and second, the steps by which this method could best be implemented, occupied a period of more than fifteen years, commencing in 1934. Their first objective was a statutory minimum salary; their second, collective bargaining. The organizational behavior of the Federation in response to the issue of salary determination was characterized by a movement from paternalistic dependence to independent self-reliance; from enforced centralization to induced decentralization; and from members' passive observation of the Executive's actions to members' active involvement in organizational affairs.

Teacher Education and Certification

Problems in the field of teacher education and certification received the attention of the Federation especially between 1943 and 1963. During that period it was concerned with three major problems. The first was the standards of admission that would govern entrance to the teacher training institutions; these standards were a means that could select suitable candidates for the profession and that could adjust the supply of teachers in response to the demand. The second problem was the determination of what would constitute a minimum programme of pre-service education; the Federation had advocated that a minimum of two years beyond senior matriculation should be established immediately, and a minimum of four years as soon as possible. The third problem was the dual programme of teacher education in Saskatchewan; the Federation had urged that the programmes be integrated within the College of Education. Analysis of the Federation's teacher education activities indicates that particular emphasis was placed upon identification activities to formulate and disseminate its policies, work-flow activities to attain its goals, motivation activities to elicit teacher compliance with the new requirements, and operation of the fusion process to overcome reluctance or resistance on the part of certain individuals and groups.

Professional Development

Within the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, activities designed to improve the competence of practicing teachers were virtually

non-existent until 1950. During the next decade teachers experienced a growing awareness of the need for their professional organization to accept a participating role in this field. After 1959 there was a surge of interest and involvement at all levels of the Federation in a variety of in-service projects, conferences and seminars. In responding to the professional development issue, the Federation initiated identification activities that extended its organizational charter, thus making the total programme more congruent with the objects that had originally been prescribed for it by statute. To provide the resources required for the work-flow activities that would actualize the expanded organizational charter, a variety of perpetuation activities was undertaken. In particular these activities provided increases or improvements in capital, materials, plant and personnel.

III. BONDS OF ORGANIZATION

In analyzing the organizational behavior of the S.T.F., reference was made to the various activity systems essential to the maintenance and successful functioning of a social organization. These included identification activities to develop, legitimize and symbolize the organizational charter, perpetuation activities to ensure an adequate supply of the basic resources, work-flow and control activities to actualize the charter and bring the organization to life, and homeostatic activities to maintain the integrity of the organization in its evolving state of dynamic equilibrium. It is now possible to utilize these activity systems in describing the bonds of

organization.

The Concept

Bonds of organization add no new elementary parts to the definition of the social organization. Rather, they constitute an integration of the previously described elements into operating systems. It has been demonstrated that, through an analysis of the behavior of an organization, major elements in the behavior can be identified: an organizational charter begins to emerge, basic resources are acquired and utilized, essential processes take place. But while these elements are analytically separate they are phenomenally interdependent. This interdependence constitutes the dynamics of the organization. A clear description of each instance of this interdependence or interrelatedness is a description of a bond of organization. A bond is therefore the reciprocal relationship among the major elements that serves to weld them into operating systems. Although bonds are not analytically separate, like the activity processes, the basic resources or the organizational charter, they are nevertheless the basic stuff of organization. They are what distinguish a viable organization from an unorganized aggregate of elementary parts.

Describing the Bonds

The concept of a bond of organization is built up by beginning with a particular activity. Then consideration is given to the contributions made to this activity by the organizational charter, the basic resources and the activity processes. Bakke says:

A description of the Bond would therefore be organized around the following key elements:

1. The Activity or behavior involved.
2. The Function to be performed or objective (which indicates ultimately the contributory relationship of this activity to the function of the organization as defined in the Organizational Charter).
3. The Instruments utilized in the activity (which are the specific items of the basic resources needed in carrying on the activity).
 - (a) People or agents performing the activities
 - (b) Ideas utilized (Specifications, codes, plans, criteria, premises, bodies of knowledge, etc.)
 - (c) Materials utilized (Equipment, etc.)
 - (d) Funds expended
 - (e) Natural resources
4. The Helper Processes (which contribute activities essential to the carrying on of the activity involved).
5. Reinforcements (which tend to stabilize and justify the activity usually by means of ritual or sentiments associated with satisfactory relations in connection with, and performance of, the particular activity).

Starting with . . . a constituent activity, therefore, one will, in order to describe it and the variables which impinge upon it, touch upon phenomena associated with every one of the elements of an organization (1:69).

Using the foregoing key elements a description can now be formulated of the bonds that emerge from an analysis of the organizational charter of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. These bonds, which constitute an integration of the activity systems involved in the behavior, also provide a useful summary of the significant features of each of the four issues which formed the raw material for the present study.

Table IX contains the summary description of the integrated activity systems that were identified in the organizational behavior of the S.T.F. in response to the four critical issues.

TABLE IX

INTEGRATION OF ACTIVITY SYSTEMS IN THE SASKATCHEWAN TEACHERS' FEDERATION

	LEGITIMATION	SALARY DETERMINATION	TEACHER EDUCATION	PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
1.	<u>The Activity</u> Influencing the teachers to request and the government to grant statutory recognition and compulsory membership.	Influencing the government to enact a statutory minimum salary; persuading the government, trustees and teachers to accept collective bargaining.	Influencing the government, the university, trustees and teachers to accept the raising of admission and certification standards and to integrate teacher education programmes.	Influencing teachers to develop and improve their professional competence through in-service education.
2.	<u>The Function or Objective</u> To organize teachers into a strong, effective and unified professional group; to promote and safeguard the interests of teachers.	To obtain for teachers an effective voice in the determination of their salaries; to secure conditions that would make possible the best professional service.	To raise the status of the teaching profession; to influence public opinion regarding educational problems; to promote the cause of education in Saskatchewan.	To raise the status and the competence of the teaching profession; to secure for teachers a greater influence in educational affairs.
3.	<u>The Instruments</u>			
(a)	<u>People</u> Members: their collective abilities and predispositions. In particular, the Executive, the permanent staff officers, the 'key men' in each inspectorate association. Non-members: cabinet ministers, M.L.A.'s, leaders of all political parties.	Members: their collective abilities and predispositions. In particular, the Executive, permanent staff officers, salary campaign committee, teachers' negotiating committees; at critical junctures, all teachers. Non-members: M.L.A.'s and candidates of all parties; members of sympathetic organizations.	Members: their collective abilities and predispositions. In particular, the Executive, administrative staff, the Council, the S.T.F. advisory committee on teacher education, and Federation representatives on teacher education policy committees. Non-members: Representatives of the other three organizations involved in the issue; members of supporting organizations.	Members: their collective abilities and predispositions. In particular, teachers participating in professional development activities, consultants, planning committees, staff and Executive. Non-members: representatives of other organizations, especially the department and the university.
(b)	<u>Materials</u> A tiny office; borrowed furniture; a few pieces of equipment inherited from the S.T.A.; typed letterheads, cheap stationery; contributed paper and multilith services for the Bulletin.	A slightly enlarged office; additional equipment; a better quality and more adequate quantity of office supplies; materials required mainly for direction and communication.	A comparatively small drain on material resources; materials required primarily for communicating with members and for influencing other organizations and the public.	Large quantities of paper, publication supplies and equipment, and postage for greatly expanded communications and dissemination activities; increased utilization of transportation services for members, consultants and staff.

TABLE IX (continued)

	LEGITIMATION	SALARY DETERMINATION	TEACHER EDUCATION	PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
(c)	<u>Funds</u> The meagre liquid assets received from the S.T.A.; pre-payment of future fees by city teachers; fees from local campaigns for voluntary membership.	Teachers' fees; supplementary voluntary levies; contributions to support special projects;	Amounts appropriated from Federation budget as required; devoted primarily to materials and to expenses of representatives on policy committees.	Amounts appropriated from the Federation budget for this kind of activity; total appropriations for general professional development increased from \$5,348 in 1948, to \$99,828 in 1958, to \$183,522 in 1963.
(d)	<u>Natural Resources</u> Problems caused by geographical isolation and limited transportation.	Problems caused by geographical isolation and limited transportation.	Acquisition of land for later development of office accommodation.	Acquisition of additional land to permit further expansion of plant.
(e)	<u>Ideas and Language</u> An organization for professional educators only; unified group action; a decentralized organization; guarantee teachers' organization; guaranteed membership; statutory recognition; professional class consciousness.	Importance and value of education to society; adequate salary levels will ensure quality in education; need for professional militancy and solidarity; justification of a minimum salary; the teachers' right to a voice in salary determination; appropriateness of collective bargaining.	The need for a long and thorough programme of teacher education; the need for competitive admission standards rigorously maintained; the advantages of an integrated programme; the dangers of expedient dilution of standards of admission and certification.	The responsibility of the individual teacher for his continuing professional growth; the appropriateness and justification of Federation involvement in the professional development of its members.
4. <u>Helper Processes</u>				
(a)	<u>Identification Process</u> - Has established in the minds of members and others an image of what the S.T.F. is and what it stands for; has provided members with an over-all sense of the significance of the activities they are expected to undertake and the spirit in which such activities should be carried out; has established the structure of the organization and its sub-groups, and the reciprocal rights and obligations of each.	Meetings of teachers at all levels to formulate, study and revise Federation policy; public relations activities to familiarize other groups with the Federation programme and to enlist their support; newsletters and magazine.	Presentation of submissions to governments and commissions and participation in study groups and conferences (partly for identification purposes); teachers' participation in policy formulation and revision.	Local regional and provincial teachers' meetings, numerous publications, and formulation and affiliation of special subject councils--all contributed to an extension of the Federation's activities to include this new field.
(b)	<u>Perpetuation Processes</u>			
(1)	<u>Personnel</u> - Has supplied and mobilized the people required, and has trained and developed their abilities appropriate to the task at hand. Specific activities include:	Appointing permanent staff officers; appointing interested and capable teachers to planning and advisory committees; training local negotiating committees.	Appointing capable, influential and informed representatives to external policy boards; appointing an internal advisory committee on teacher education and certification.	Employing specialists as consultants; employing and assigning staff officers in this field; obtaining consultative personnel for special seminars; providing special training and opportunities for prospective leaders.

TABLE IX (continued)

LEGITIMATION	SALARY DETERMINATION	TEACHER EDUCATION	PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
(2) <u>Service</u> - Has supplied the quantity and quality of instruments named under 3(b) above, and required for the successful functioning of the organization. <u>Specific activities include:</u>			
Carefully controlling service expenditures by restricting them to only essential purchases of the most economical grade of supplies, equipment and accommodation.	Providing sufficient materials to maintain adequate written contact and communication with members and external groups.	Obtaining more spacious office accommodation and more elaborate duplicating and other office equipment; arranging for rental of mass media services as required.	Constructing a new office building to house an expanded programme; purchasing supplies in bulk; subcontracting large scale publications orders.
(3) <u>Finance</u> - Has supplied the capital requirements essential to the whole organization's operation of which the behavior in response to this issue is a part. <u>Specific activities include:</u>			
Appealing to urban teachers to prepay their future fees; soliciting voluntary memberships; making arrangements with creditors.	Obtaining teacher support for fee increases in 1937 and 1944; requesting government (for several years unsuccessfully) to revise statutory fee schedule; initiating a voluntary supplementary levy.	Budgeting funds to meet required expenditure for programmes to inform teachers and public, and for expenses of representatives on policy boards.	Obtaining teacher support for fee increases in 1954, 1958 and 1962; appointing a finance committee and arranging meetings to study Federation finances.
(4) <u>Conservation</u> - Has supplied natural resources items required for the programme of the Federation. Specific activities include:			
		Negotiating for purchase of suitable property at an advantageous price.	Negotiating for acquisition of additional land for plant expansion.
(5) <u>Thoughtways</u> - Has generated the ideational instruments enumerated under 3(e) above. Specific activities include:			
Discussions within executives and sub-groups of preceding teachers' organizations; appointing special committees to deal in depth with limited terms of reference.	Assigning of staff officers and advisory committees to conduct studies and discussions that would yield ideas, basic information and recommendations.	Sending representatives to provincial, national and international conferences on teacher education; local, regional and provincial teachers' discussions on teacher education.	Appointing advisory committees on professional standards, curriculum, examinations, professional development policy; sending representatives annually to a wide range of national and international meetings to keep informed on trends and developments; arranging teachers' meetings at all levels of the Federation.
(c) <u>Work-flow Process</u> - Has resulted in work and in an output of sufficient quantity and quality to attain the Federation's goals and to ensure its maintenance. <u>Specific activities include:</u>			
Arranging meetings with the cabinet; submitting questionnaires to leaders of the political parties; preparing the draft bill for submission to the legislature; arranging a vote of teachers on compulsory membership; conducting campaigns to build up	Planning a programme of action; briefs, interviews and letters urging government action; obtaining teachers' pledges; obtaining teacher involvement and participation; participating in provincial salary committees to produce guide salary schedules; discussions with govern-	Obtaining representation on advisory policy boards; discussions with other interested organizations; preparing programmes of activities and material to inform and influence public opinion when considered necessary.	Initiating activity in areas not receiving adequate attention by other educational bodies; arranging and conducting seminars and courses; providing library services; publishing monographs, periodicals and newsletters.

TABLE IX (continued)

LEGITIMATION	SALARY DETERMINATION	TEACHER EDUCATION	PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
voluntary membership; establishing and reinforcing inspectorate associations and locals; publishing <u>The Bulletin</u> ; correspondence.	ment and trustees; establishing negotiating committees; conducting salary workshops; providing assistance to sub-groups in salary disputes.		
(d) <u>Control Processes</u>			
(1) <u>Direction</u> - Has through practice established a routine of initiation and response, of authority, accountability and compliance which is taken for granted; has through practice established members' confidence in the integrity and the policies of the Federation so that they are prepared to accept its assignments and its legitimate directives. Specific activities include:	Contacts with and instructions to 'key men' during membership campaigns; directives regarding arrangements to obtain teachers' instructions (their vote) on compulsory membership issue; information to inspectorate associations concerning their role in the Federation.	Directives involved in policy formation: policy formulated by Council, interpreted by the Executive, implemented by staff and representatives on policy boards.	Direction limited and primarily upward; teachers indicate their needs and preferences for kinds of professional development activities; policy formation follows established institutionalized pattern.
(2) <u>Motivation</u> - Has through practice established a set of expectancies as to rewards for competent performance and penalties for failure to comply with the standards of the professional group. Specific examples include:	The promise of the attainment of commonly shared goals through unified effort; the appeal of being bound together with professional colleagues; the threat of the continuation of deplorable conditions; the probable failure of a professional organization without compulsory membership.	Encouraging teachers to comply with the high standards of education and certification advocated by the Federation; making high standards professionally desirable; penalties of financial loss and lack of professional status for failure to attain prescribed standards.	Communicating to each teacher the idea that professional growth is an individual responsibility; fostering the development of a positive and willing attitude toward professional improvement and by providing opportunities and resources.
(3) <u>Evaluation</u> - Has through practice established the procedures for reviewing and assessing the activities of the organization and the behavior of its members. Specific examples include:	Establishing the machinery for policy formulation and revision: the locals, the inspectorate convention, the Council.	Assessment of progress toward objectives; analysis of reasons for failure; formulation of strategies for renewed action, and alternate courses of action should failure recur.	Review of teacher participation in and degree of satisfaction with projects conducted; assessing strengths and weaknesses in activities and proposing remedial action.

TABLE IX (continued)

LEGITIMATION	SALARY DETERMINATION	TEACHER EDUCATION	PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
(4) <u>Communication</u> - Has through practice established the patterns of oral and written communication among members and sub-groups of the organization; has developed adequate media to facilitate effective communication. Specific examples include:			
Establishing formal lines of contact (teacher-councillor-Executive-staff); publishing <u>The Bulletin</u> ; establishment of an office, the geographical headquarters of the organization, and encouraging teacher contact directly with it.	Addition of activities to permit direct communication (permanent field and office staff, attendance of officials at local and inspectorate meetings); mailing of newsletters to all teachers as required.	Arranging for regular meetings at all levels of the Federation: locals; superintendency (conventions and rallies); provincial (Council). Extension of the scope and coverage of the magazine and newsletters.	Initiating regional leadership meetings; special discussion groups at Council on professional development; special subject council publications; a newspaper and an enlarged magazine.
(e) <u>Reinforcements</u> - Have tended to stabilize or justify the activity usually by means of ritual or sentiments associated with satisfactory relations in connection with the activity. Specific examples, applicable to all four activities being analyzed, include:			
	Ritual - regular or periodic induction of new members and new officers; annual issuance of membership cards, certifying the teacher's membership and summarizing the benefits accruing to him; in a certain sense, the regular appearance of Federation publications and the regular occurrence of meetings, conventions and reports are a part of a ritual and provide a measure of reinforcement for all activities.		
	Sentiments - "It makes a difference having the power of the S. T. F. behind a request for justice" (2:7). "The S. T. F. . . . is the most outstanding teachers' organization in Canada" (3:8).		

Summary

It is evident that a description of a social organization utilizing the concept of bonds of organization focuses attention upon activity. Activity systems function to develop an organizational charter, to provide basic resources, to produce a service, to coordinate operations and to maintain homeostasis. The description of bonds of organization indicates the dynamic interrelatedness of the various activity systems and the basic resources they utilize.

All five of the activity systems, or activity bonds, are essential to the effective functioning of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. The absence or malfunctioning of any one of the five would surely precipitate eventual disintegration of the organization. It may be possible, however, to identify certain ones of the five activity systems that appear to have a special significance and importance in an organization like the S.T.F. An examination of the behavior of the Federation would seem to suggest that of the five the identification bond and the homeostatic bond are paramount. The reason lies in the nature of the organization itself. In essence it is an abstraction. The Federation is not a thing or a place or a plant. It is people--their attitudes, their aspirations, their efforts, their minds. Its existence, its strength, its very being must therefore be actualized through a combination and integration of such talents and sentiments as the individual members are ready to proffer in the service of the organization. It follows that inadequacies in identification and homeostatic activities are certain to reduce the

Federation to an empty shell, a structure devoid of the vital relationships that presently and in the past have ensured considerable attainment of goals and a remarkable absence of conflict, ineffectiveness or inefficiency in its various activity systems.

IV. CONCLUSION

The theoretical framework for the present study has been Bakke's concept of the social organization. This framework has proved to be useful in guiding the search for data relevant to the issues being analyzed and in illuminating related elements and activities which, in a random search, would probably have been overlooked. At some points Bakke's framework appears to be more directly applicable to business and industrial organizations than to the type of organization examined in the present study. A notable example is the implied emphasis upon the product and the physical inputs required. Yet, this slight apparent bias is quite readily overcome by means of interpretation and adaptation, for the greatest strength of the framework remains its comprehensiveness; the investigator can adapt the framework to his problem by selecting and emphasizing the elements and activities that have greatest significance for the organization under study.

The applicability of Bakke's concept in the present study may have been restricted by the writer's decision to depend primarily upon documentary analysis for the collection of data. This restriction became especially apparent in the application of that section of the concept which deals with the psychological basis of the behavior of

individual actors and agents within the organization (1:44-46).

The writer found it useful to add one item to Bakke's outline-- conflict between or among the systems of activities. Although Bakke had given consideration to the possibility of ineffectiveness or inefficiency in the functioning of the various activity systems, his framework had not directed attention to the possible occurrence of conflict between systems striving to serve divergent purposes. It has been the writer's conclusion that attention to such conflict has been a worthwhile extension of Bakke's concept.

The present study, then, has been conducted to formulate a systematic description of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation as a formal social organization. In particular it has attempted to provide the closest possible approximation to reality by focusing upon the activity systems that constitute the dynamics and the life of the S.T.F.

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APPENDIX A

THE OBJECTS OF THE SASKATCHEWAN TEACHERS' FEDERATION

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Section 4 (1) of An Act Respecting the Teaching Profession,
Revised Saskatchewan Statutes, 1953, Chapter 183, reads as follows:

4.--(1) The objects of the federation shall be:

- (a) to promote the cause of education in Saskatchewan;
- (b) to raise the status of the teaching profession;
- (c) to promote and safeguard the interests of teachers and to secure conditions which will make possible the best professional service;
- (d) to influence public opinion regarding educational problems;
- (e) to secure for teachers a greater influence in educational affairs;
- (f) to afford advice, assistance and legal protection to members in their professional duties and relationships.

APPENDIX B

SYMPTOMS OF ORGANIZATIONAL INEFFECTIVENESS OR INEFFICIENCY IN CARRYING OUT THE ACTIVITY PROCESSES

APPENDIX B

SYMPTOMS OF ORGANIZATIONAL INEFFECTIVENESS OR INEFFICIENCY
IN CARRYING OUT THE ACTIVITY PROCESSES

Activity	Symptom of ineffectiveness	Symptom of inefficiency
<u>Identification activities</u>	Evidence of wide variation especially among participants, in perceptions of the central function and distinguishing features of the organization, or of revolution against such central elements	*
<u>Perpetuation activities</u>	Reports of quantitative shortages and qualitative inadequacies in basic resources	Failure to realize advantageous results in more adequate resources equal to the costs involved in the attempt to do so
<u>Work-flow activities</u>	Inconsistency between the quantity and quality of the output and the quantity and quality acceptable to the consumers; also, interruptions in the flow of work	Less-than-optimal use of acquired basic resources; incurring total costs for the output which cannot be recovered from the return in inputs stimulated and made possible by its distribution
<u>Control activities (general)</u>	Occurrence of results disadvantageous, irrelevant, or negative to the performance of the organizational function	Allocation of resources to carrying these activities out whose value imposes excess costs on the output, causing difficulty in distributing it on advantageous terms
Directive	Failure to have necessary action taken, or to obtain acceptance or compliance, partial or complete, with the directive	*
Motivation	Behavior varying from the type desired	*

APPENDIX B (continued)

Activity	Symptom of ineffectiveness	Symptom of inefficiency
Evaluation	Occurrence of results disadvantageous to the organization traceable to mistaken or untimely judgment	*
Communication	Necessity for participants to make decisions or take action without knowing what is expected of them, or before the arrival of information, variation in the content of which would necessitate variation in the decision made or the action taken	*
<u>Homeostatic activities</u> (general)	Disintegration in the organization or a decline in homeostasis	
Fusion process	Persistence (not necessarily the occurrence) of tensions, friction and factionalism in the organization; rebellious acts of individuals and groups against activity or standards of activity required of them by the organization; indifference and apathy of participants toward the needs of the organization; lack of interest of participants in defending the organization	*
Problem-solving process	Accumulation of recognized but unsolved problems, especially those that are weakening the ability of the organization to perform its function	*
Leadership process	*	*

*No specific symptom is described by Bakke for this category.

APPENDIX C

THE SELF-IMPOSED MINIMUM SALARY PLEDGES

APPENDIX C

THE SELF-IMPOSED MINIMUM SALARY PLEDGES

(Address)

(Date)

I, , now employed by S.D.

No. at an annual salary of per annum, pledge myself as follows: I will not teach in any school in Saskatchewan after June 30, 1940, at a salary less than \$700.00 per annum.

I understand in signing this pledge that the Executive of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation will not declare my pledge effective until at least seventy-five per cent. of teachers whose salaries are now below \$700.00 have similarly signed such a pledge.

(Signature)

I, , in the event I am employed after July 1, 1940, at an annual salary of \$700.00 or over promise to contribute some financial assistance to be provided through the S.T.F. to any teacher who may be temporarily unemployed as a result of adhering to the pledge to abstain from teaching for less than \$700.00 per annum.

Present salary (if not stated above)

(Signature)

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